

SEPTEMBER

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE
PUBLISHED BY THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY

25 CENTS
A COPY

\$3.00
A YEAR

The World in Review

[August, 1919, Events]

Special Subjects:

Chinese-Japanese Controversy.
Germany's New Constitution.
The Allies' Balkan Blunder.
Russia Under Bolshevism.
Proofs of the Czar's Murder.
America's War Effort in Charts.
Middle West in the War.
Turkey's Disintegration.
Austria-Hungary-Poland-Czechoslovakia-Yugoslavia.
Earl Grey-Archduke Joseph.
All the Nations Reviewed.
Treaty Debate in U. S. Senate.



Franklin Simon & Co.

Fifth Ave., 37th and 38th Sts., New York

Women's Autumn Suits,
Fur Scarf Collars,
Longer Coats, Snug
Shoulders—Smart Skirts

Model Illustrated

\$325.00

THIS Woman's Suit of brown or Chaudron silk duvetyn takes the familiar long loose panel off the skirt and puts it on the back of the coat. Its two-thirds length marks the coat as in the latest fashion. The attached collar of kolinsky fur, in the new whole animal skin shape, matches the big drooping pockets trimmed with tassels.

WOMEN'S SUIT SHOP

Balcony Floor



DISTINGUISHED LEADERS IN BASTILE DAY PARADE



Marshals Joffre and Foch riding at head of allied troops through
the Arc de Triomphe, Paris, July 14, 1919

(© International Film Service)

PEACE OFFICIALLY PROCLAIMED IN LONDON, JULY
2, 1919



Quaint and interesting ceremony following signing of Peace Treaty. An officer of the College of Arms is reading the proclamation at St. James's Palace.

(© Central News Photo Service)

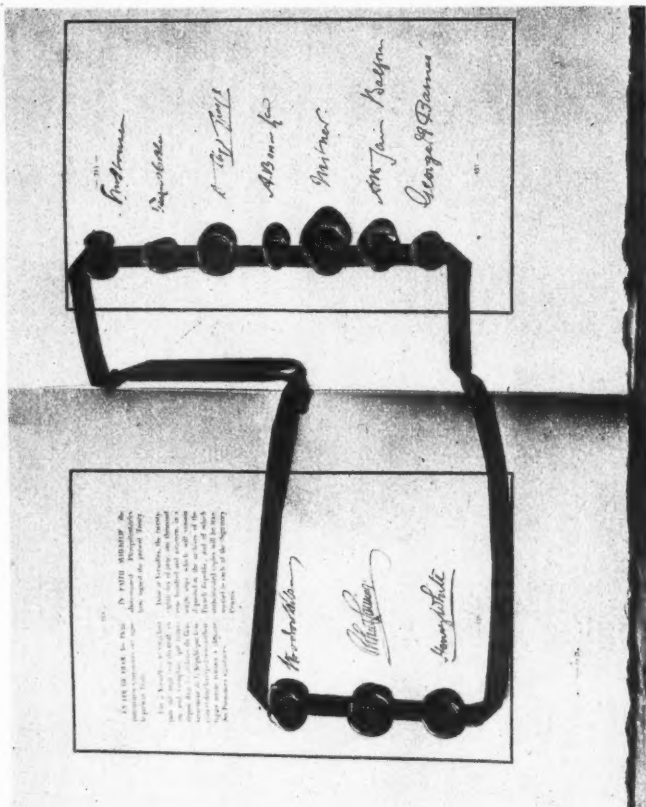
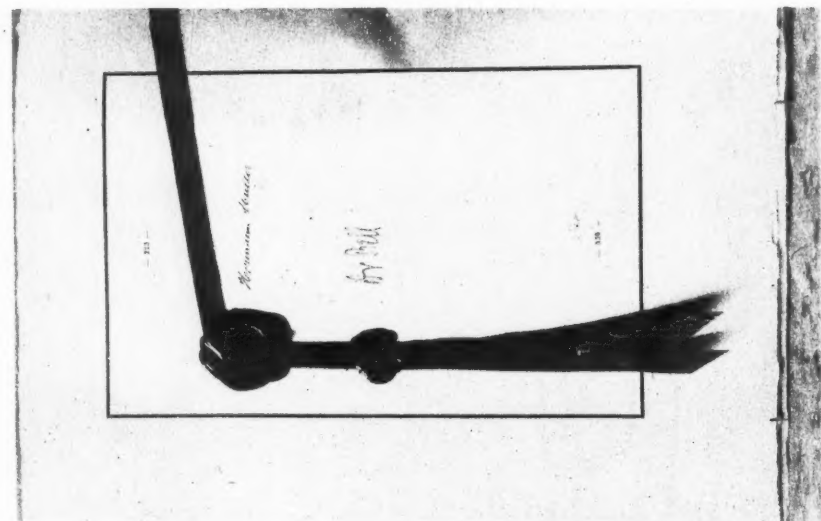
WONDERFUL ILLUMINATION IN PARIS, JULY 14, 1919



The Eiffel Tower from its peak and platforms flinging out the
beacon rays that proclaimed victory.

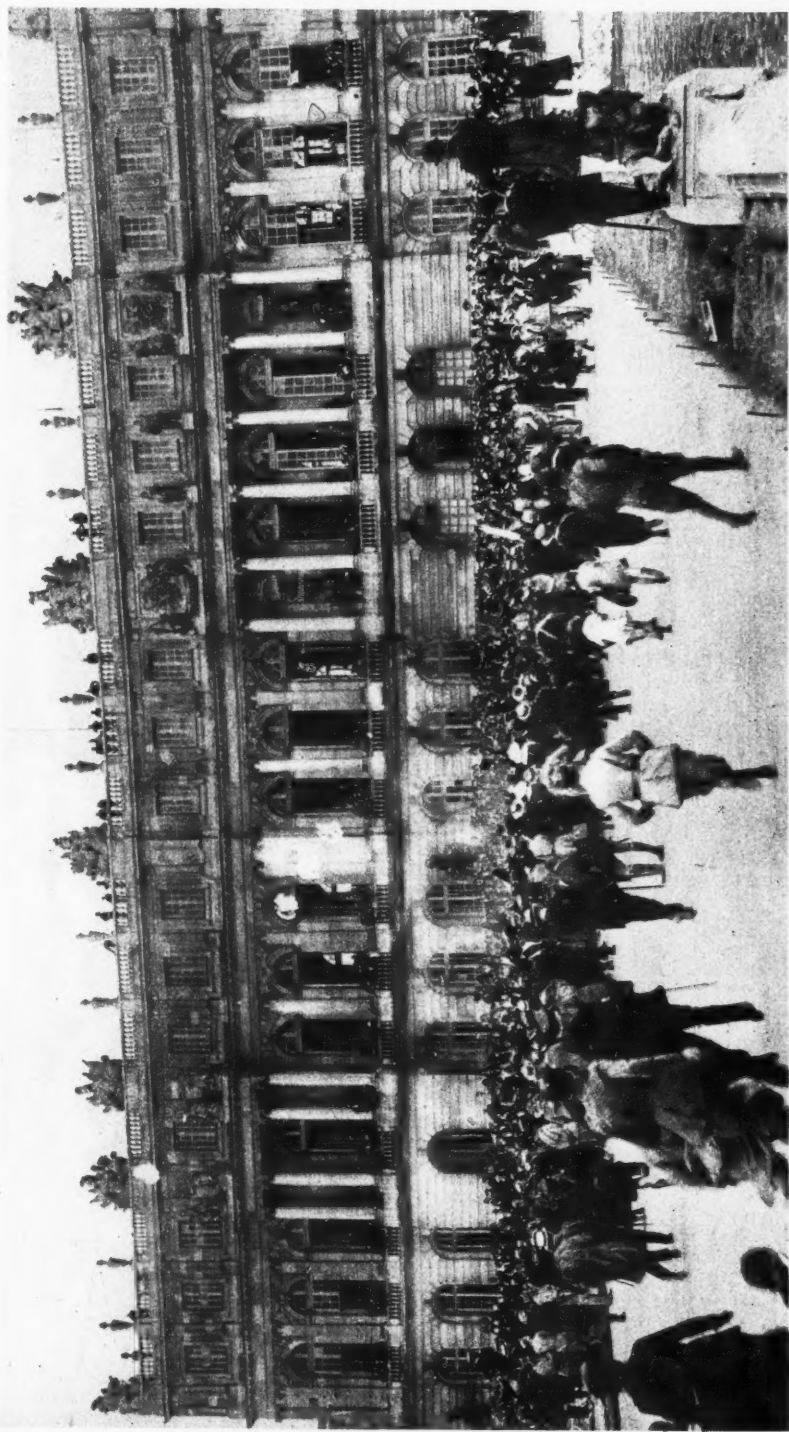
(© France-American Corporation)

FACSIMILE PAGES OF PEACE TREATY WITH SIGNATURES



Exact reproduction of Pages 213, 214, and 223 of the Peace Treaty signed at Versailles June 28, 1919. On Page 223 are the signatures of the German delegates, Müller and Bell. On Page 213 is President Wilson's signature, opposite his individual seal. Then follow the names of the remaining American delegates and those of the British envoys.

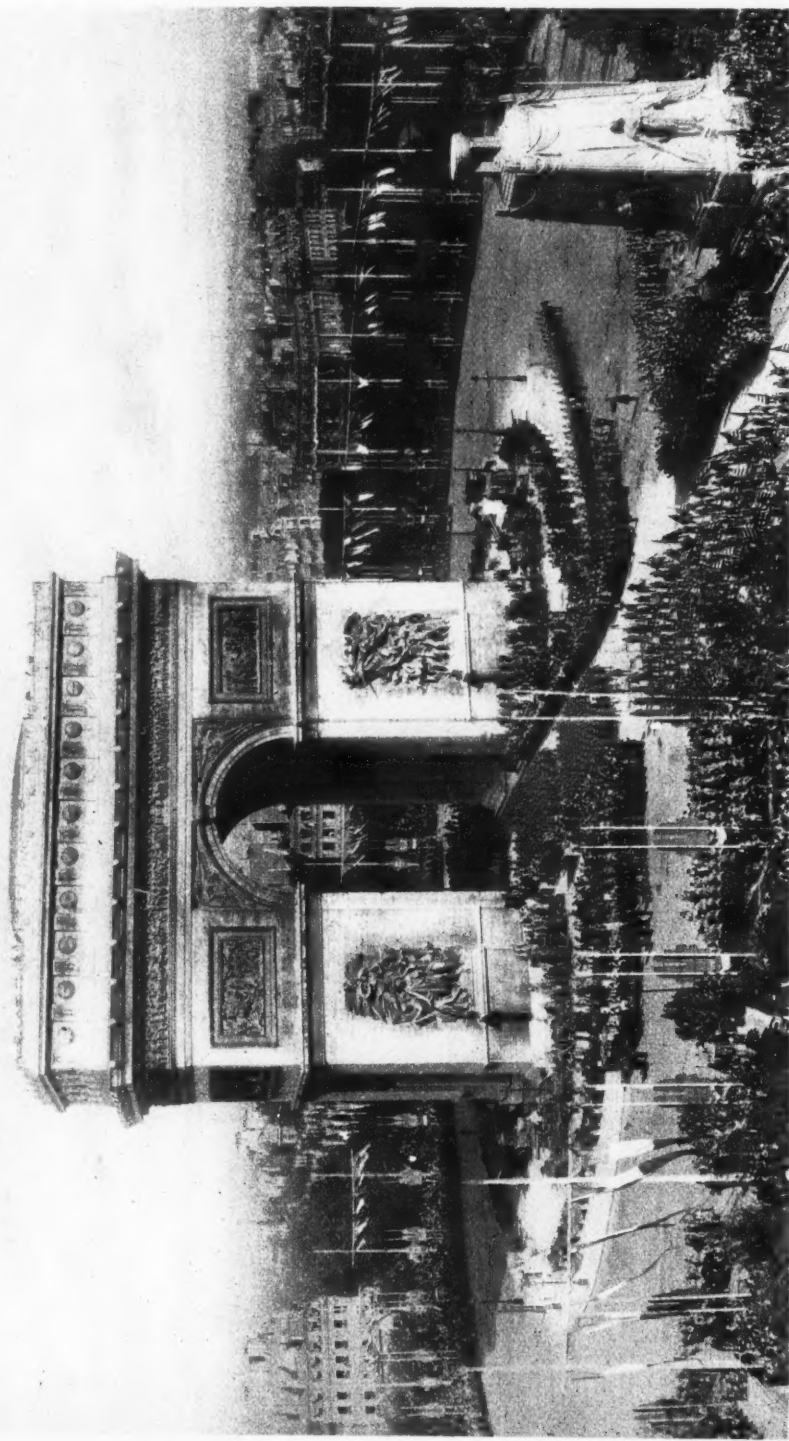
PALACE AND PARK OF VERSAILLES AT MOMENT PEACE TREATY WAS SIGNED



Crowd rushing toward the Palace of Versailles when the boom of cannon announced signing of treaty. The guards were swept away like straws.

(© International Film Service)

AMERICAN TROOPS PARTICIPATING IN GREAT BASTILLE DAY PARADE IN PARIS



American soldiers with their forty regimental flags marching under the Arc de Triomphe, through which only victors may pass.

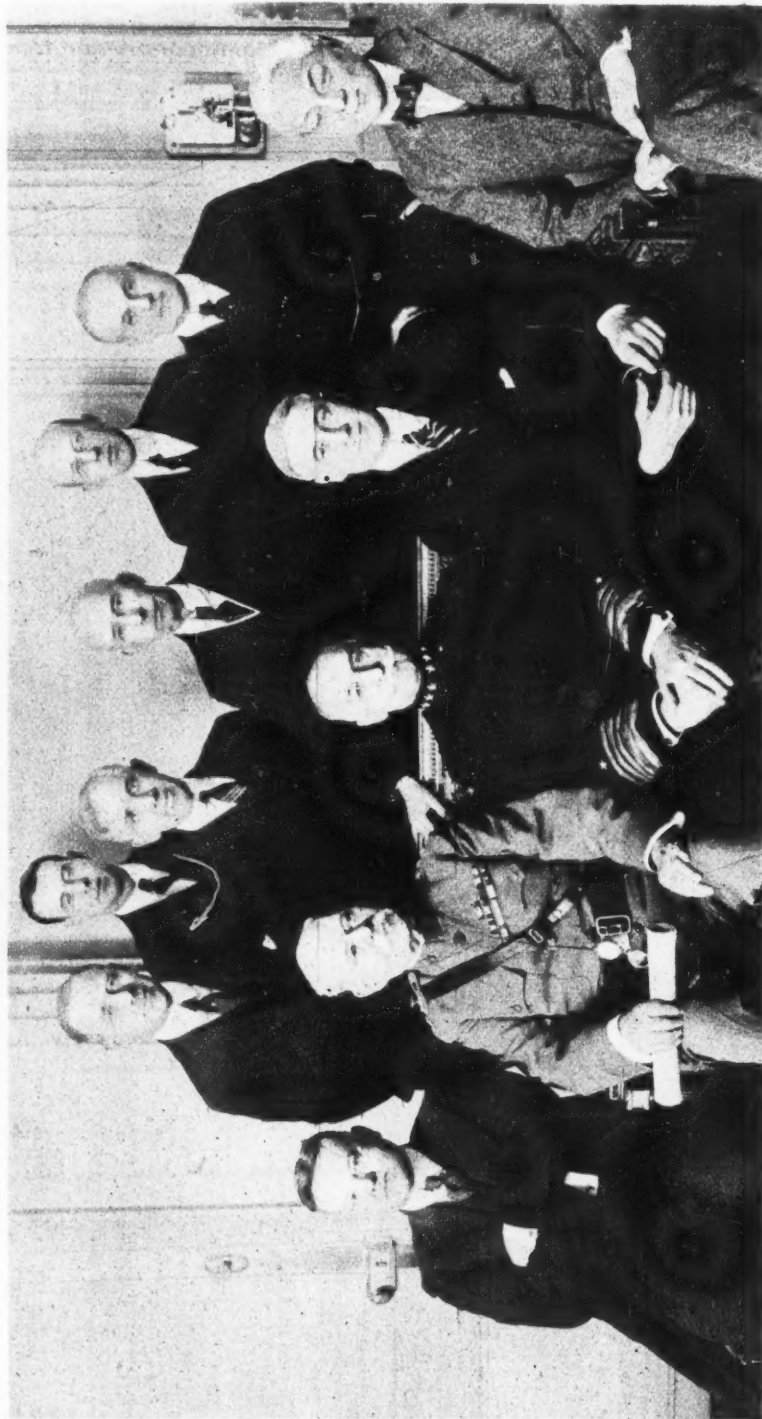
GREAT AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN THE HEART OF FRANCE



Airplane view of 8,000 army students drawn up for inspection on grounds of the American Expeditionary Force's school at Beaune, France.

(© Times Wide World Photos)

ECONOMIC ADVISERS AND TWO MEMBERS OF AMERICAN PEACE DELEGATION

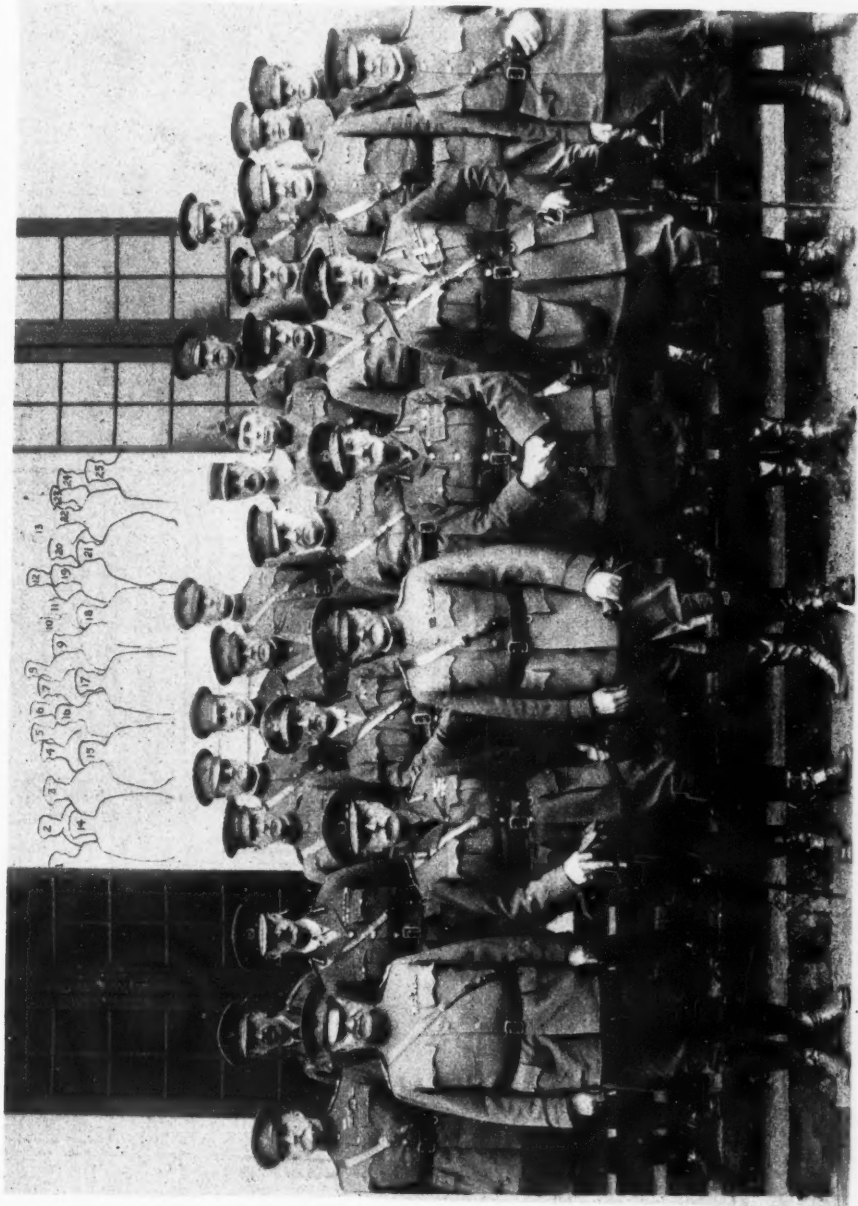


Seated left to right are: H. C. Hoover, General T. H. Bliss, Admiral W. S. Benson, Bernard Baruch, H. M. Robinson. Standing: T. W. Lamont, W. H. Shepardson, Norman Davis, Colonel E. M. House, Gordon Auchincloss, Vance McCormick.

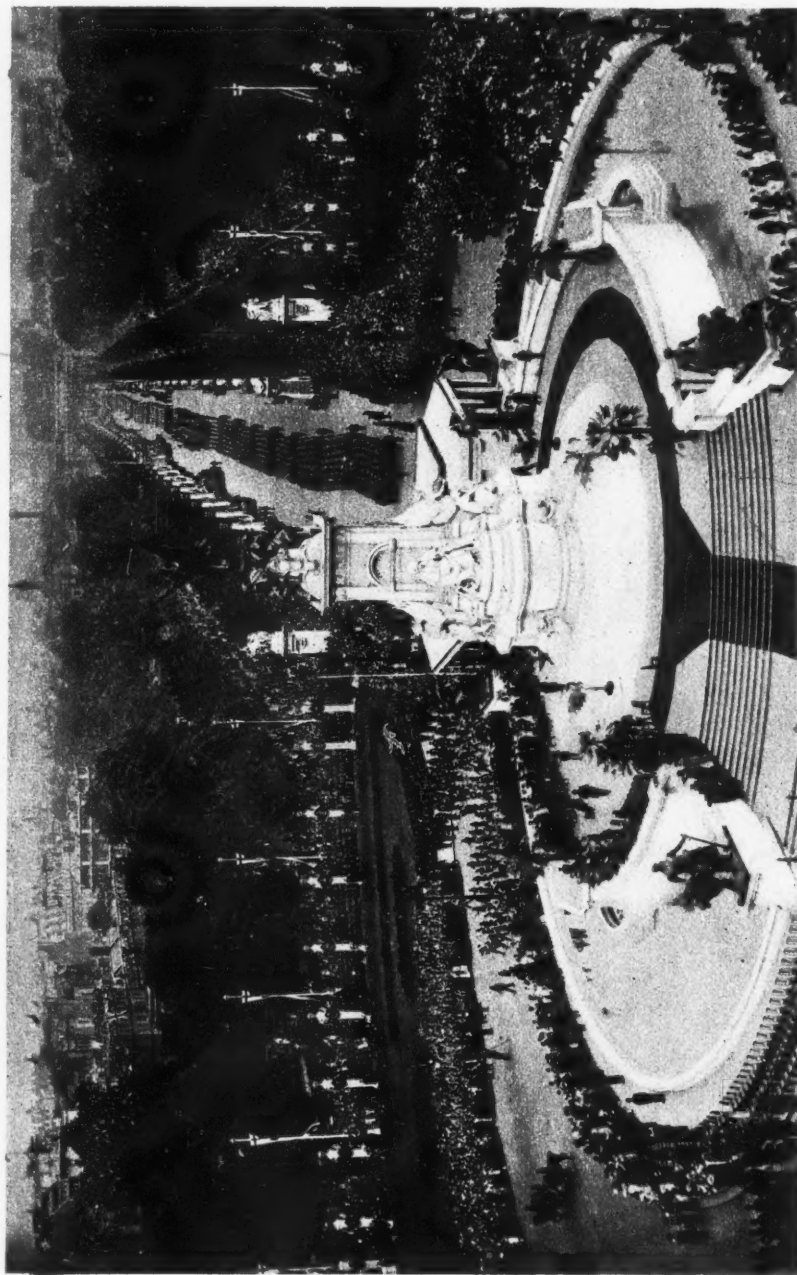
(C) United States Official

GROUP OF MILITARY NOTABLES

This assembly of notables took place at Gen. Pershing's headquarters at Chaumont, France, April 4, 1919. They are: 1. Major Gen. A. W. Brewster; 2. Col. W. H. C. to Marshal Haig; 3. Brig. Gen. C. M. Wagsstaff, British Mission; 4. Brig. Gen. G. V. H. Mosely, Assistant Chief of Staff; 5. Brig. Gen. H. B. Fiske, Assistant Chief of Staff; 6. Lieut. Col. Collins; 7. Brig. Gen. Fox Conner, Assistant Chief of Staff; 8. Major Gen. Ernest Hinds, Chief of Artillery; 9. Major Gen. J. W. McAndrew, Chief of Staff; 10. Capt. de Marevanches (French Army); 11. Brig. Gen. D. E. Nolan, Assistant Chief of Staff; 12. Lieut. Col. J. G. Quekett; 13. C. to Gen. Pershing; 14. Col. Powell; 15. C. to Gen. Pershing; 16. Lieut. Gen. Hunter Liggett; 17. Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig; 18. Major Gen. Brinkshank, Director of Transportation; 19. Gen. J. J. Pershing; 20. Lieut. Gen. Sir Herbert Lawrence, British Chief of Staff; 21. Brig. Gen. E. H. Dwyer, Chief of Staff; 22. Gen. C. Davis, Adjutant General; 23. Lieut. Gen. Noel Birch, British Chief of Artillery; 24. Brig. Gen. A. D. Andrews, Assistant Chief of Staff; 25. Capt. Hughes, A. D. C.; 26. Lieut. Frank Pershing, A. D. C.; 27. Lieut. Gen. R. L. Bullard.



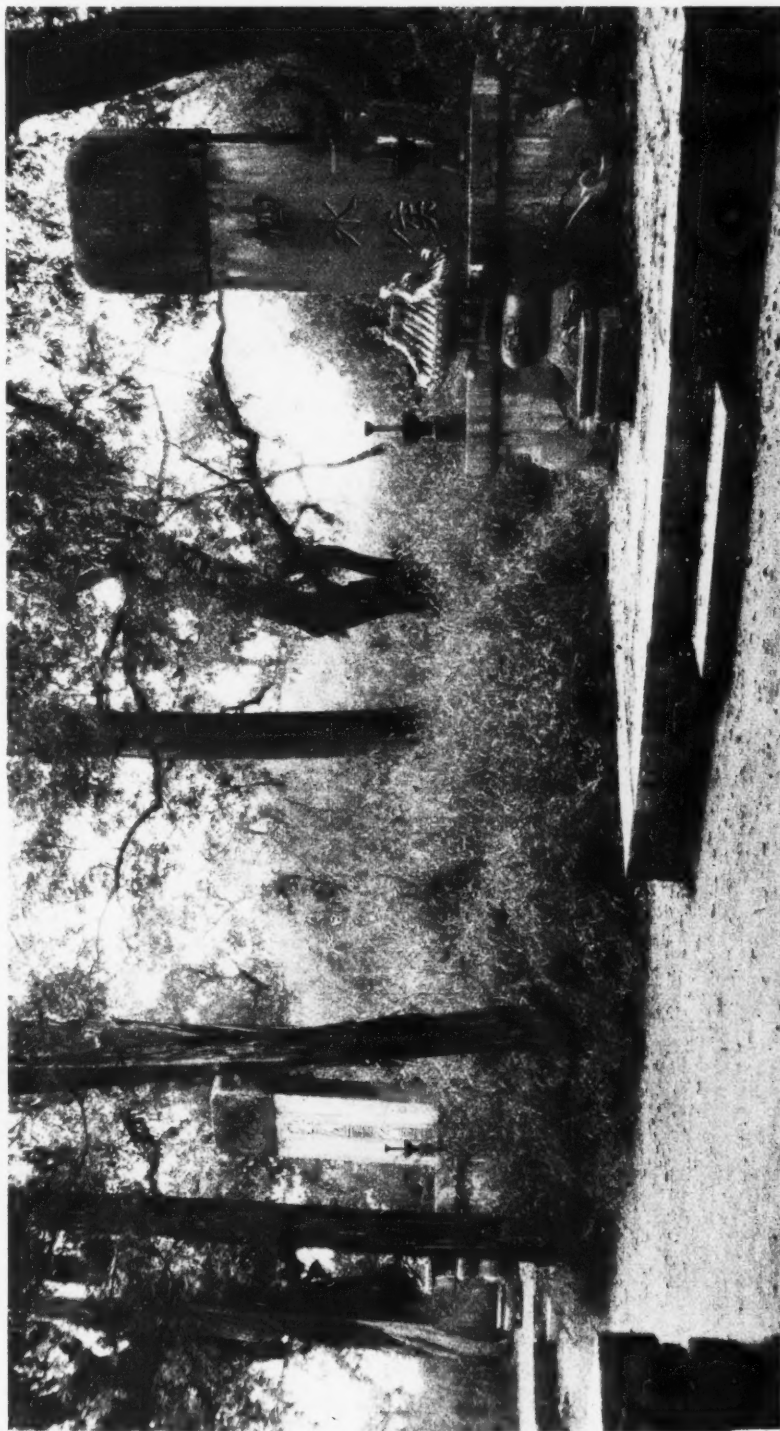
LONDON'S GREAT CELEBRATION OF VICTORY AND PEACE



Panorama of the parade as seen from the roof of Buckingham Palace, with the American troops in full view at the moment.

(Western Newspaper Union)

TOMBS OF CONFUCIUS AND HIS SON AT CHEFOO, SHANTUNG, CHINA



The burial place of China's most venerated sage is at right, the tomb of his son at left. The fact that Shantung is China's Holy Land has added fuel to the controversy between Japan and China on the possession of the peninsula.

(© R. M. Vanderburgh)

INVESTIGATORS OF THE COST OF LIVING



A. MITCHELL PALMER
Attorney General of the United
States.

(© Harris & Ewing)

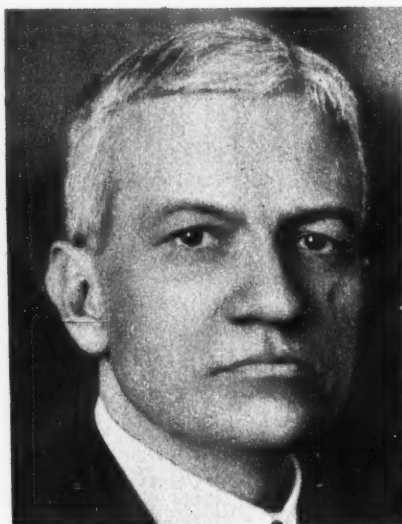


JULIUS BARNES
Head of United States Grain
Corporation.

(© Paul Thompson)



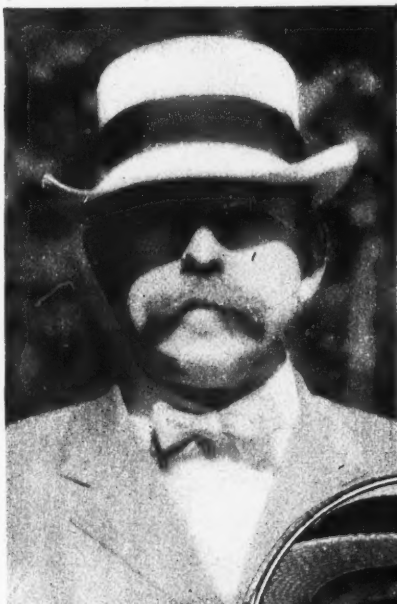
WILLIAM B. COLVER
Member of Federal Trade Com-
mission.



R. C. LEFFINGWELL
Former Assistant Secretary of the
Treasury.

(© Harris & Ewing)

FIVE RAILWAY LABOR LEADERS



L. E. SHEPPARD
President Order of Rail-
way Conductors.
(© Ledger Photo Service)



TIMOTHY SHEA
Acting Chief Locomotive
Brotherhood.
(© Ledger Photo Service)



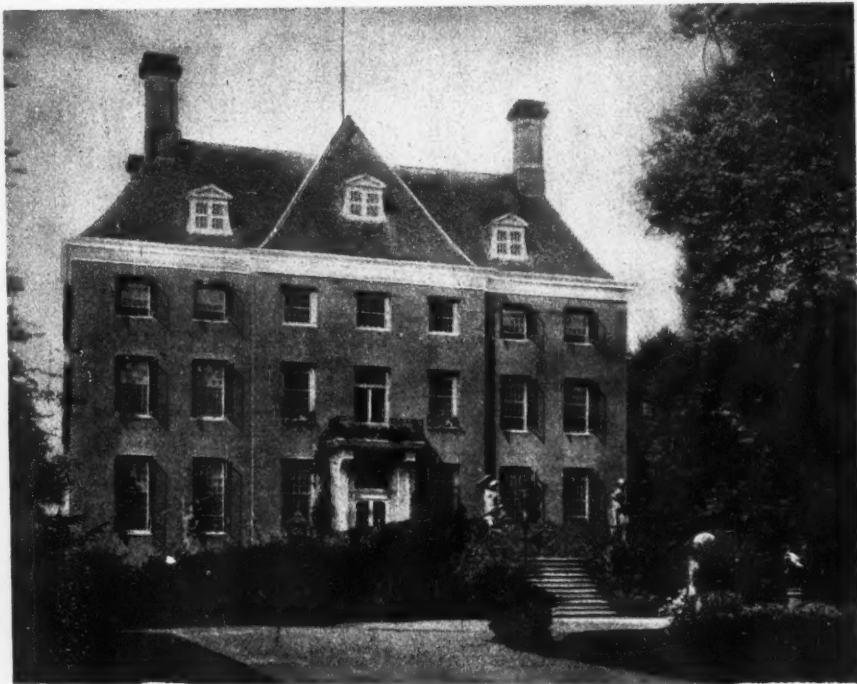
WARREN S. STONE
Grand Chief Brotherhood of
Locomotive Engineers.
(Underwood & Underwood)



W. G. LEE
President Brotherhood of
Railway Trainmen.
(Bain News Service)

GLENN E. PLUMB
General Councilor for
Brotherhoods.
(© Ledger Photo Service)

HOMES OF THE EXILED HOHENZOLLERNS



Castle of Amerongen, Holland, present abiding place of the German ex-Emperor.



Home of ex-Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm on the Island of Wieringen, in the Zuyder Zee, Holland.

TOMMASO TITTONI



New Foreign Minister of Italy, succeeding Baron Sonnino.
(© Western Newspaper Union)

HEIR TO BRITISH THRONE



The Prince of Wales just before his visit to the United States. At left is United States Commander Towers of seaplane NC-3, and at right is Commander Read of NC-4.

(© Central News Service)

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. X. { No. 3
Part II. }

September, 1919

25 Cents a Copy
\$3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS—(16 pages) . *Frontispiece Group*

JOFFE AND FOCH IN PARADE
PROCLAIMING PEACE IN LONDON
EIFFEL TOWER ILLUMINATED
PEACE TREATY SIGNATURES
HISTORIC MOMENT AT VERSAILLES
AMERICANS IN PARIS PARADE
MILITARY UNIVERSITY IN FRANCE
GROUP OF MILITARY NOTABLES

GROUP OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
LONDON'S VICTORY CELEBRATION
TOMB OF CONFUCIUS, SHANTUNG
FOUR FOOD PRICE INVESTIGATORS
FIVE RAILWAY LABOR LEADERS
HOMES OF EXILED HOHENZOLLERNS
TOMMASO TITTONI
PRINCE OF WALES

	Page
THE SENATE RATIFICATION DEBATE	381
Ratification by European Powers	388
QUAINT PEACE CEREMONIES	389
TREATY OF PEACE WITH AUSTRIA	391
OFFICIAL PROOFS OF THE CZAR'S MURDER (Illustrations)	395
THE NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR (Portrait)	400
CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF	404
AMONG THE NATIONS: EVENTS IN BOTH HEMISPHERES	413
STRAINED RELATIONS WITH MEXICO	421
GERMANY UNDER A NEW CONSTITUTION	424
Germany's New Volunteer Army	429
Trading With Germany Again	432
Terms of the Rhineland Occupation	435
Protocol to the German Peace Treaty	437

Contents Continued on Next Page

Copyright, 1919, by The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved. Entered at the Post Office in New York and in Canada as Second Class Matter.

Table of Contents—Continued

	Page
CAUSES AND CURE OF LABOR UNREST	
By Owen E. McGillicuddy	438
INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE	444
DEMANDS OF RAILWAY LABOR UNIONS	445
FIGHTING PROFITEERS AND HIGH PRICES	451
RACE RIOTS IN WASHINGTON AND CHICAGO	453
AMERICAN DEMOBILIZATION ACTIVITIES	457
OUR WAR EFFORT TOLD IN BRIEF (With Charts)	463
THE MIDDLE WEST IN THE WAR By Samuel Insull	469
KING FERDINAND EXPELLED FROM AUSTRIA	471
AMERICAN MILITARY DECORATIONS By Edwin Carty Ranck	472
ALAN SEEGER'S FAMOUS POEM AND A REPLY	476
FALL OF THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET	477
CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S RELATIONS WITH HUNGARY	486
INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN AUSTRIA	487
JUGOSLAVIA IN DIFFICULTIES	489
POLAND AS A FREE NATION	492
THE BOLSHEVIST WAR IN RUSSIA	496
MOSCOW AT THE BEGINNING OF 1919 By Ludovic Naudeau	505
BOLSHEVIST ATROCITIES IN SIBERIA By John A. Embry	510
An Officer's Experience With Bolshevism By Lieutenant Shiller	514
CAUSES OF THE BALKAN DISASTER By Gordon-Gordon Smith	517
BULGARIAN ATROCITIES IN MACEDONIA—Official report	524
FRENCH WAR DOGS UNDER FIRE	529
THE PASSING OF THE TURKISH DOMINION	530
WAR RECORDS REVEAL UNFITNESS	533
CHINA'S ATTITUDE ON THE PEACE TREATY	
By W. Reginald Wheeler	534
The Shantung Controversy	539
Korea's Revolt Against Japanese Rule	546
China's White Book on Shantung	550
THE PASSING OF ANTI-BRITISH PREJUDICE By Owen Wister	545
INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR. 45 Cartoons	553

SENATE RATIFICATION DEBATE

Long Struggle of Opposition Members to Alter Certain Clauses of the German Peace Treaty

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 20, 1919]

PRESIDENT WILSON submitted the German Peace Treaty to the United States Senate on July 10 in a formal address, in which he placed his services and all the information he possessed at the disposal of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and reviewed the work of the Peace Conference by which the treaty had been formulated.

The President's address was greeted coldly by the Republican Senators, who had long shown hostility to certain features of the treaty, especially to the League of Nations covenant. On July 14 there began in the Senate a debate over the ratification of the treaty, opened with a three-hour speech by Senator Swanson of Virginia in support of the Treaty as it stood. Senator Swanson declared that any modification would mean renewed negotiations; that any reservations would have the effect of amendments, and that they could not be binding until the other nations had subscribed to them. In the meantime, he pointed out, the United States would be in the position of withholding assent to the peace terms.

After Senator Swanson's speech, which was regarded as the keynote of the Administration fight for the League covenant, two Republicans—Senator Fall of New Mexico and Senator Kellogg of Minnesota—contested his view that the treaty should be ratified without reservations, taking the ground that the Senate should make reservations, even if the treaty had to go back to Paris for reconsideration.

HOSTILE RESOLUTIONS

On the same date, in one of the stormiest sessions it had had in recent years, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to report three resolutions dealing with the Peace Treaty. Sharp clashes

took place between Republican and Democratic members over the propositions, which were as follows:

One offered by Senator Lodge, calling upon the State Department for a copy of the alleged secret treaty of last October between Germany and Japan.

One by Senator Borah, asking the President to submit a memorandum alleged to have been filed by Secretary Lansing, General Bliss, and Mr. White, protesting against the Shantung award.

One by Senator La Follette, calling upon President Wilson to inform the Senate whether Nicaragua had been permitted, with armed forces, to invade Costa Rica.

A fourth resolution, proposed by Senator Johnson, calling on the State Department to supply to the committee a stenographic report of all the secret proceedings of the Peace Conference, relating particularly to the League of Nations, aroused a violent debate, in which Senator Hitchcock, the Administration spokesman, took sharp issue with the object of the resolution as a flagrant violation of all diplomatic ethics. This resolution, after considerable dispute, was not voted upon. It was, however, adopted at a subsequent session.

On the following day the resolution of Senator Lodge was adopted by the Senate after an acrimonious debate, in which Senator Lodge called the Shantung decision "a price paid."

CONFERENCES WITH REPUBLICANS

It was announced at the White House on July 16 that President Wilson would begin the following day a series of conferences with Republican Senators at the White House, with a view to laying before the opponents of the League of Nations information concerning provisions to which objection had been raised in the Senate. Fifteen Republican Senators

were on the President's list, including most of the members of the Foreign Relations Committee, and were to be invited to appear singly.

Brief general reports of the course of each interview were given out by the Senators invited to conference. From these it was apparent that the President had confined himself to giving information relative to the treaty, the League of Nations, the Shantung award, and the treaty with France.

The net result of the interviews was that valuable information had been given by the President, but that the Senators in question had undergone no change of mind as to the necessity of reservations. The Administration Senators, however, intimated that opposition to the League covenant had been weakened.

NEW OPPOSITION POLICY

A new phase developed on July 19 when some of the opposition leaders announced that if the changes demanded by those opposed to the League were not accepted, the entire treaty would be rejected. To accomplish this, these leaders asserted, they had at least thirty-five votes assured, whereas only thirty-three votes were needed to defeat ratification. The threat to defeat ratification came not only from the radical Senators, such as Senator Borah, but from some who had been considered as conservative.

The opposition policy at about this time underwent a change and a development; the possibility of reservations was dropped, and the necessity of direct amendment was emphasized. Opponents of the League declared at the same time that Democratic Senators, after White House conferences, had begun to sound the Republicans on "interpretative reservations," which would merely state the views of the Senate in the resolution of ratification on features objected to, and not assert that the United States would refuse to be bound by them. Such interpretative reservations, it was said, would not be opposed by President Wilson, while reservations that would exempt the United States from obligations imposed by the League covenant would

be opposed by him to the bitter end. Democratic Senators declared that they were not alarmed at this change in the Republican policy, and denounced it as an attempt to force a compromise from the Administration in the matter of reservations.

Meanwhile Republican confidence in the outcome of the fight to change the treaty was enhanced by word which Senator Lodge, Republican, of Massachusetts, and main leader of the opposition, had received from a prominent British statesman to the effect that both France and Great Britain would agree to the reservations pertaining to Article X., the Monroe Doctrine, purely domestic questions, such as immigration, the tariff, and racial equality, and America's right to withdraw from the League upon two years' notice, America to determine for herself if her obligations to the League had been fulfilled or not.

THE REPARATION COMMISSION

A turbulent debate was precipitated in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on July 21 by receipt of a letter written by President Wilson to Senator Lodge, Chairman of the committee, asking that it approve the provisional appointment of an American representative on the Reparations Commission provided for in the treaty. The Reparations Commission was to consist of seven members, representing the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State; its duty was to consider claims against Germany for war damage and notify Germany by May 1, 1921, as to its findings. The President in his letter emphasized the importance to the business interests of the United States that the country should be represented while the work of the commission was taking shape and before the treaty was ratified by the various countries involved. The appointment asked for was provisional.

Opposition was voiced as soon as the President's letter was read. The debate became animated as some Republicans hinted that the President was trying to put the committee upon record as recognizing the treaty before a vote had been taken on ratification. Both Republicans

and Democrats were agreed that the Senate could not confirm a temporary appointment, but the latter believed the President himself could appoint such a provisional representative on his own responsibility.

In the Senate on July 23 the League of Nations was supported by Senator McKellar of Tennessee as one of the greatest forward steps in the nation's history. Opposition, he declared, came from those who were reactionary and those who personally disliked Woodrow Wilson. Mr. Wilson, he said, had done great things for America. All his work had been done for America. Let not America, he concluded, which has given this great peace covenant to the world, be the only one to repudiate it. He was interrupted by the League's inveterate adversary, Senator Borah of Idaho, who reminded him that ex-President Taft was drawing up a plan of reservations, and prophesied that this or some similar plan would be approved eventually by the Administration.

THE TAFT RESERVATIONS

The formulation of such a plan of "interpretative reservations" was made by ex-President Taft in a long letter written to Will H. Hays, the Republican National Chairman, on July 20, from Quebec. In this letter six interpretative reservations were outlined by Mr. Taft, which, he was convinced, would meet the objections of a large group of Republicans who favored a League of Nations. These reservations were substantially as follows:

1. That upon two years' notice the United States could cease to be a member of the League without having the League pass upon whether she had fulfilled all her obligations under the covenant.

2. That self-governed colonies and dominions could not be represented on the League Council at the same time with the mother government, or be included in any of those clauses where the parties to the dispute are excluded from its settlement.

3. That the functioning of the council under Article X. shall be advisory only, and that each member shall be left free to determine questions of war in its own way, the decision of the United States resting with Congress.

4. That differences between the nations

regarding immigration, the tariff, and other domestic questions shall not be left to the League for settlement.

5. That the Monroe Doctrine is to be reserved for administration by the United States.

6. That the United States reserves the right to withdraw unconditionally at the end of ten years, or at least to terminate then her obligations under Article X.

ANGLO-FRENCH-AMERICAN TREATY

In the session of July 24 Republican leaders took President Wilson to task for withholding the triple pact negotiated in June with France and Great Britain. By withholding this treaty, they declared, the President had violated Article IV. of the agreement, which provided that it should be submitted to the Senate along with the treaty of peace with Germany. The attack was led by Senator Brandegee of Connecticut.

The President on July 28 conferred with eleven Democratic Senators at the White House regarding the Peace Treaty. Meanwhile, the Republican plan for reservations went on unimpeded. On the same day, when the Foreign Relations Committee finished the long and arduous task of reading the Peace Treaty, it was announced that the committee would draft at least six reservations to the League of Nations covenant, including Article X., immigration, tariff and other domestic matters, right of withdrawal within two years, the application of the Monroe Doctrine, and the Shantung agreement. At this time also four reservations, as drawn up by Justice Charles E. Hughes, and offered for adoption to the Senate, were made known on the publication of correspondence between Mr. Hughes and Senator Frederick Hale of Maine, dealing with the ratification of the treaty.

MR. HUGHES'S RESERVATIONS

Summarized, Mr. Hughes's four reservations are:

1. That on giving notice of its intention to withdraw from the League, a power shall cease to be a member or subject to obligations of the covenant at the time specified in the notice, but that such withdrawal shall not release that power from debt or liability theretofore incurred.

2. That questions such as immigration or import duties, which are solely within

domestic jurisdiction, shall not be submitted for consideration or action by the League.

3. That the United States shall not relinquish its traditional attitude toward purely American questions, which shall not be subject to jurisdiction of the League, leaving this country free to oppose acquisition by any non-American country of territory in the Western Hemisphere.

4. That under Article X. the United States shall assume no obligation to undertake any military expedition or employ its armed forces on land or sea unless such action is authorized by Congress.

SEEK A COMPROMISE

At the end of July a small group of Republican Senators, seven in number, all friendly to the treaty, injected a new element into the situation by agreeing upon a series of reservations whose wording, they hoped, would furnish a middle ground that would attract enough members of both parties to insure the League's acceptance by the Senate. This reservation program had been shaping for several weeks, and was designed to protect national interests without weakening the League covenant.

On Aug. 4 the harmony of these "mild reservationists" was broken by inability to agree upon the reservation affecting Article X., and there was some discussion of complete elimination of this article from the covenant. The other three reservations were settled upon without dissent.

A sensation was created by the issuance of a Japanese official statement on Aug. 3 concerning Shantung, and by President Wilson's immediate reply. These documents are reproduced elsewhere in the article on Shantung.

LODGE SPEECH CHEERED

What may be called the climax to the Senate debate over the League of Nations was brought by Senator Lodge, leader of the fight for reservations to the covenant, in an eloquent address delivered in the Senate on Aug. 12, in which he assailed the League plan as a "deformed experiment" in which the inherent interests of the United States were sacrificed to a dangerous internationalism. He called it a "political organization," in which the affairs of all the nations entering it would be thrashed

out from the political point of view. It was not, he said, a league of peace, "but an alliance dominated by the five great powers of the world."

Senator Lodge regarded it as imperative that the United States should not become embroiled in the politics of Europe, and he did not want Europe mixing in American affairs. To preserve the sovereignty of America, he said, the five reservations which he urged were necessary.

In his peroration Senator Lodge asserted that the League of Nations, as drafted at Paris, was merely an ideal. "My first ideal is my own country," he exclaimed. "We have our own ideals, even if they differ from the ideals of those who have tried to establish a monopoly of idealism. To us, America should come before anything else."

As Mr. Lodge ended his speech, Senators on the Republican side went forward to shake his hand, while the chamber rang with applause. Cheers of approval broke out in the crowded galleries. Marines, who had been in the attack upon Château-Thierry and who had squeezed their way into the galleries after the big parade, in which more than 8,000 of them were reviewed by the President, joined in the wild ovation that was accorded Senator Lodge. For three minutes the chamber was in tumult such as it had not witnessed in years.

Vice President Marshall, in the chair, made no effort to check the thunder of applause. Later, when the galleries burst out in disapproval of Senator Williams of Mississippi, who accused Mr. Lodge of making a "show" of himself, the Vice President threatened to clear them in the event of repetition.

OUTLINES FIVE RESERVATIONS

Senator Lodge's speech was hailed by the majority of the opposition Senators as sounding the keynote of reservations that were likely to be adopted as the majority program when the Versailles Treaty came up for vote. Mr. Lodge urged five reservations, along the line of those advocated by Elihu Root and Charles E. Hughes.

President Wilson on Aug. 14 accepted a request from Senator Lodge, as

Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, for an appointment to meet the members of the committee on Tuesday, Aug. 19, to explain the terms of the treaty of peace with Germany in full publicity. The attitude of the President toward the conditions for publicity was disclosed when Joseph P. Tumulty, his private secretary, issued a statement concluding with these words:

The unprecedented condition of the conference as set by Senator Lodge in his letter to the President fits in with the President's own preference as to publicity, so that the people of the country may be put in possession of all the information he has about the Treaty of Peace.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

An unprecedented conference followed on Aug. 19 in the East Room of the White House, where President Wilson met the members of the Foreign Relations Committee, most of whom were opposed to ratification of the treaty in its present form. For three hours and a half of questions and discussions the President dwelt with candor on the various phases of the treaty, replying freely to the queries put to him covering the entire range of the treaty from the League of Nations covenant to the Shantung agreement. The conference was marked by a spirit of courtesy and mutual respect, and nothing in the nature of a dispute marred the harmony of the occasion.

The President first read the following memorandum:

It has several times been suggested, in public debate and in private conference, that interpretations of the sense in which the United States accepts the engagements of the covenants should be embodied in the instrument of ratification. There can be no reasonable objection to such interpretations accompanying the act of ratification provided they do not form a part of the formal ratification itself. Most of the interpretations which have been suggested to me embody what seems to me the plain meaning of the instrument itself.

But if such interpretations should constitute a part of the formal resolution of ratification, long delays would be the inevitable consequence, inasmuch as all the many Governments concerned would have to accept in effect the language of the Senate as the language of the treaty before ratification would be complete. The assent of the German Assembly at Wei-

mar would have to be obtained, among the rest, and I must frankly say that I could only with the greatest reluctance approach that Assembly for permission to read the treaty as we understand it, and as those who framed it quite certainly understood. If the United States were to qualify the document in any way, moreover, I am confident from what I know of the many conferences and debates which accompanied the formulation of the treaty that our example would immediately be followed in many quarters, in some instances with very serious reservations, and that the meaning and operative force of the treaty would presently be clouded from one end of its clauses to the other.

CHIEF POINTS DISCUSSED

The ensuing discussion touched upon the British League plan, reparations, the obligation of the United States under Articles X. and XI., the Shantung settlement, the phraseology of the League covenant, the maintenance of American sovereignty in matters of domestic policy, including the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine; the triple pact with France and Great Britain, the possibility of America's making an independent peace and dissociating herself from the treaty and the League, the treaties with Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Many other points of importance arose in the course of the discussion.

President Wilson revealed that the original draft of the American plan for the League of Nations was recast by him from a skeleton draft submitted by Mr. Phillimore of the British Commission at Paris. Article X. was his own work, suggested by a contemplated compact between the Central American republics. This American draft was superseded by the Smuts or British plan at Paris. Speaking of reparations, President Wilson stated that his attitude at the Peace Conference had been that the United States would not expect indemnity, except for the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

Regarding both Article X. and the withdrawal clause, brought up by Senator Borah, President Wilson contended that Congress in the end would have the power to determine whether any decision of the council involving the use of American soldiers was to prevail. And previously, he pointed out, the American

delegate to the council would first have to give his consent. As to withdrawal, he held that each nation could determine for itself whether its obligation to the League had been carried out; in no way could the council pass upon it; it was final with the nation wishing to withdraw. He intimated, at the same time, that no nation would seek to withdraw without having fulfilled all moral obligations. This principle he applied specifically to the United States.

THE SHANTUNG ISSUE

For some time the President was questioned on the award of the former German rights in Shantung Peninsula to Japan. He unhesitatingly admitted that he "would have preferred a different disposition" if he could have achieved it, but that it was a practical way out of a difficult situation. He admitted that he had not known of the existence of the secret treaties made between Japan, Great Britain and France, by which the Mikado's Government was to take over the rights in Shantung. Senator Brandegee informed the President that the Shantung award had roused serious objection, and that it stood in the way of ratification of the treaty. Asked later about Shantung, the President also admitted that Henry White, one of the American peace delegates, in a memorandum submitted at President Wilson's request, had called the award "unjust." Asked if he agreed with this view, the President intimated that he thought it more expedient not to answer.

To a suggestion that much of the phrasing of the League of Nations covenant was obscure and required reservations by the Senate, the President replied that he was not of that opinion. He explained further that he thought objections raised by Senators last March which were embodied in the final draft after he returned to Paris had cured any apparent defects. He was not aware that there was a "general objection" to treaty phraseology. He said he felt that the objections of Messrs. Root, Hughes, and Taft had been covered in the changes made at Paris. Senator Brandegee insisted, however, that the sections referring to the Monroe Doctrine, the with-

drawal clause, the determination by the United States of its purely domestic questions, and Articles X. and XI. were not adequately clear.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Asked by Senator Borah if, under Article XI., the United States would not be embroiled in all European quarrels at the will of the League, the President replied, as he had replied to Senator Brandegee, that all such questions would inevitably have to be decided by Congress, as it was not to be assumed that any of America's constitutional rights were to be abrogated through joining the League of Nations. Regarding domestic matters, such as immigration and the tariff, the President said there had been general agreement at Paris that there would be no interference by the League. As to the Monroe Doctrine, that, he declared, had been amply protected through its recognition as "a regional understanding."

Asked by Senator New why the Monroe Doctrine had not been specifically mentioned in the various clauses of the League, President Wilson explained that, if this had been done and other documents or questions omitted, an appearance would have been created of intentionally leaving them out. He took issue with Senator New's assertion that the Monroe Doctrine reservation in the covenant was vague.

Regarding the special treaty with France, he explained it merely as an extra precaution to insure prompt assistance in case of any unprovoked aggression by Germany.

Senators plied the President with questions as to the treaties with Austria, Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria, which, the President said, were intertwined with the Versailles Treaty provisions, particularly as to the League of Nations. These the Senators indicated they would like to have, to consider along with the Versailles Treaty. The President explained that these were still in the hands of the Paris conferees while details as to territorial boundaries were being adjusted.

During the conference Senators Hitchcock, ranking Democratic member of the committee; Senator Williams, Senator

Swanson, and Senator Pittman interposed frequent comments in touching upon questions put by their Republican conferees. For the Republicans, Senators Lodge, Borah, Johnson, Harding, Brandegee, McCumber, and New were the chief inquisitors, with Senator Moses and others putting occasional questions.

OPPONENTS UNCONVINCED

The Senators opposed to ratification without reservations or amendments declared themselves unconvinced after the President's exposition. The entire Republican membership of the Foreign Relations Committee took the stand that they could not accept in lieu of specific reservations the "interpretative reservations" which they asserted the President had offered them. The President's view, they argued, was purely an individual expression of opinion. They could not understand, furthermore, his reluctance to have the interpretations, which he himself accepted, incorporated specifically in the treaty. It was also felt that he had magnified the moral obligations of nations and of the United States in particular, and minimized the contractual side, in order to assure the country that it would not become involved in European wars. They were, however, pleased that the President had admitted to Senator Fall that amendments to the League would not have to be passed upon by Germany. The Democratic Senators, on their part, expressed themselves as confident that the conference would prove clarifying and convincing.

A statement issued by Senators Borah and Johnson three hours afterward enumerated nine "significant facts" which these Senators believed the conference with the President had revealed, and implied, in conclusion, that it had demonstrated that the United States was legally and morally bound to take part under the League in European troubles. The net result of the conference, as seen on the following day, was a distinct lineup of the two opposing forces for and against the League of Nations covenant.

THE TRIPLE PACT PRESENTED

President Wilson formally presented the text of the Franco-American-British

treaty to the Senate on July 29. This brief pact, which was printed in the preceding issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, binds the United States to go to the aid of France if she is attacked by Germany. The President did not appear in person when he laid this before the Senate, but transmitted the document, with the following message:

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

I take pleasure in laying before you a treaty with the Republic of France, the object of which is to secure that republic of the immediate aid of the United States of America in case of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her on the part of Germany. I earnestly hope that this treaty will meet with your cordial approval, and will receive an early ratification at your hands, along with the treaty of peace with Germany. Now that you have had an opportunity to examine the great document I presented to you two weeks ago, it seems opportune to lay before you this treaty, which is meant to be in effect a part of it.

It was signed on the same day with the treaty of peace, and is intended as a temporary supplement to it. It is believed that the treaty of peace with Germany itself provides adequate protection to France against aggression from her recent enemy on the east; but the years immediately ahead of us contain many incalculable possibilities. The covenant of the League of Nations provides for military action for the protection of its members only upon advice of the council of the League—advice given, it is to be presumed, only upon deliberation and acted upon by each of the Governments of the member States only if its own judgment justifies such action. The object of the special treaty with France, which I now submit to you, is to provide for immediate military assistance to France by the United States in case of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her by Germany without waiting for the advice of the council of the League of Nations that such action be taken. It is to be an arrangement, not independent of the League of Nations, but under it.

It is, therefore, expressly provided that this treaty shall be made the subject of consideration at the same time with the treaty of peace with Germany; that this special arrangement shall receive the approval of the council of the League, and that this special provision for the safety of France shall remain in force only until, upon the application of one of the parties to it, the council of the League, acting, if necessary, by a majority vote, shall agree that the provisions of the covenant of the League afford her sufficient protection.

I was moved to sign this treaty by considerations which will, I hope, seem as persuasive and as irresistible to you as they seemed to me. We are bound to France by ties of friendship which we have always regarded, and shall always regard, as peculiarly sacred. She assisted us to win our freedom as a nation. It is seriously to be doubted whether we could have won it without her gallant and timely aid. We have recently had the privilege of assisting in driving enemies, who were also enemies of the world, from her soil; but that does not pay our debt to her. Nothing can pay such a debt. She now desires that we should promise to lend our great force to keep her safe against the power she has had most reason to fear. Another great nation volunteers the same promise. It is one of the fine reversals of history that that other nation should be the very power from whom France fought to set us free. A new day has dawned. Old antagonisms are forgotten. The common cause of freedom and enlightenment has created new comrade-

ships and a new perception of what it is wise and necessary for great nations to do to free the world of intolerable fear. Two Governments who wish to be members of the League of Nations ask leave of the council of the League to be permitted to go to the assistance of a friend whose situation has been found to be one of peculiar peril without awaiting the advice of the League to act.

It is by taking such pledges as this that we prove ourselves faithful to the utmost to the high obligations of gratitude and tested friendship. Such an act as this seems to me one of the proofs that we are a people that sees the true heart of duty, and prefers honor to its own separate course of peace.

WOODROW WILSON.

The White House, July 29, 1919.

The Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee, appointed to consider the legality of this pact, reported on Aug. 19 that it was not in conflict with the Constitution.

Ratification by European Powers

Great Britain First to Act

THE Peace Treaty bill was read in the British House of Commons on July 21 for the second time, and after considerable debate passed this second reading and later in the evening its third reading. The bill was strongly approved by Mr. Lloyd George and defended by him against attack in the course of a polemic with Joseph Devlin, the Irish Nationalist leader, over the working out of the Irish settlement. Royal assent was given to the Peace Treaty with Germany, as well as to the Anglo-French pact, on July 31, and both treaties thereby became law in Great Britain.

In France the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Deputies passed favorably on the question of ratification of the German treaty on July 29. Final ratification was set for Aug. 20.

Premier Clemenceau, accompanied by M. André Tardieu, attended the meeting of the committee and brought written replies to questions regarding the left bank of the Rhine. On July 31 the French Cabinet had approved the proposal that

peace should be considered to exist officially from the date when the French ratification should be published in the Official Journal, without waiting for the completion of treaties with other powers still technically at war with France. Ratification was recommended to the Chamber of Deputies on Aug. 1 by its Peace Committee by a vote of 34 to 1.

Belgium unanimously ratified the treaty with Germany on Aug. 8. In the discussion the Foreign Minister said that the League of Nations had failed to offer Belgium guarantees and thereby compelled her to seek in Paris a revision of the treaties of 1839 in order to provide for her own defense. His speech was loudly applauded. The Chamber also ratified the annex to the treaty concerning the military convention entered into by France, the United States, Great Britain, and Belgium.

Gustav Ador, President of the Swiss Federation, declared in Zurich on July 22 that the League of Nations covenant was capable of bearing abundant fruit, and added that it could not be thought

that Switzerland would refrain from associating herself with such an organization pursuing such a noble end. On Aug. 8 the Federal Council, in sittings held to discuss Switzerland's adhesion to the League, agreed unanimously to propose to the Legislative Council an additional article to the Swiss Constitution through which Switzerland would assume membership in the League.

In Spain the Senate on Aug. 1 voted a

bill authorizing the Government to join the League. The vote was unanimous. Parliament approved this proposal on Aug. 7, and on Aug. 16 King Alfonso signed the law authorizing adhesion to the League.

Without a dissenting vote Chile, on Aug. 16, through the Foreign Relations Committee of the Chilean House of Representatives, approved adhesion to the League.

Quaint Peace Ceremonies

Mediaeval Rites in London

THE formal proclamation of peace at London July 3, 1919, was made in rigid observance of ancient ceremonial and with the accompaniment of the pageantry of mediaeval days. The ceremony began in the courts of the Palace of St. James's with music by a Life Guards band, whose tunics were gold and crimson; the conductor wore a large silver helmet topped by an immense red tassel. The drummer was mounted on a massive brown and cream horse exactly like the pictures of fifteenth century horses. At 11:30 A. M. Queen Alexandra, accompanied by her sister, ex-Empress Marie, appeared above the wall of Marlborough House. A detachment of the Welsh Guards escorted the color to the west side of the ground of the court. It was immediately saluted. The national anthem was sung, and all eyes were turned to the balcony, and, in spite of the heavy rain, men still stood bareheaded.

Then came the little company of gorgeously habited officers. There were Sergeant at Arms, carrying their maces, in attendance, and there were six officers at Arms, all wearing tabards, which are sleeveless coats fashioned in silks of crimson and gold and royal blue, embossed with lions and little harps. There were the Deputy Earl Marshal and trumpeters and Garter Principal King of Arms.

The trumpeters played their quaint tunes six times. Then Garter Principal

King of Arms came forward to tell the King's people that the King's enemies were defeated and that peace had been proclaimed.

The officials came quietly and suddenly to their places. One moment it was empty, the next a pack of cards had come gloriously alive beside the spectators. Lord Edmund Talbot in his red and gold military uniform and cocked hat seemed in mufti beside Garter with his blazonings of gold and blue and red in startling juxtaposition, and the large, strong designs on his tabard of beasts and birds and symbols. With him were Norro King of Arms, Richmond Herald, Chester Herald, York Herald, Windsor Herald, and then faithful pursuivants, Bluemantle, Rouge Dragon, and Portcullis, and the six state trumpeters and the Sergeant at Arms bearing their gorgeous maces—verily how beautiful upon the mountains is * * * he * * * that publisheth peace.

THE READING

A fanfare of trumpets, controlled and thrilling, blared out and Garter stepped forward in the rain and read the King's Proclamation of Peace:

Whereas a Definitive Treaty of Peace between Us and the Associated Governments and the German Government was concluded at Versailles on the Twenty-eighth day of June last: In conformity thereunto We have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published in due course throughout all Our Dominions: And We do declare to all Our

loved subjects Our Will and Pleasure that upon the exchange of the Ratifications thereof of the said Treaty of Peace be observed inviolably as well by sea as by land and in all places whatsoever; strictly charging and commanding all Our loving subjects to take notice hereof and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly.

Garter read in a natural tone, but his voice was strong enough to carry over the court. "God Save the King," he cried at the end, and the Court people beside him echoed it, the crowd cheered, the Indian officers in khaki stood at attention, and then the band crashed out the national anthem.

"Another fanfare," commanded the King of Arms, and the youthful trumpeters blared again into the rain.

This ended the ceremony at the Palace, and the procession passed down Marlborough Yard to the Mall, and so along to Charing Cross, where huge crowds had assembled to witness the ceremony there. The Officers at Arms took up their stand at the base of the statue of Charles I., and from that point of vantage York Herald, looking toward Whitehall, read the proclamation for the second time.

AT TEMPLE BAR

Once more the procession was reformed, and passed along the Strand toward Temple Bar. A halt was made opposite to the Law Courts and on the Westminster side of a barrier drawn across on the site of Old Temple Bar. The Lord Mayor of London and a civic party were waiting on the city side of the barrier. Here the ancient custom of entry into the city was carried out with full pomp. Ordinarily when the King enters the city the barrier exists only in theory, but today there was an actual barrier in the form of a crimson silken cord stretched across the road in the hands of two stalwart policemen.

At 12 o'clock the procession arrived at Temple Bar headed by mounted guards and the King's Trumpeters. In response to their fanfare the City Marshal cantered up to the barrier and demanded in a loud voice, "Who comes there?" Equally clearly came the reply, "Officers of the Court of his Majesty, who demand admission to the city."

The demand was then carried personally by Bluemantle Pursuivant, (Mr. E. W. Woollaston,) who, riding up to join the City Marshal at the barrier, was conducted by him to the Lord Mayor, who was surrounded by the Aldermen, Recorder, Sheriffs, and other officers of the corporation. Direction having been given to remove the barrier, Bluemantle was conducted to his place in the procession, which proceeded into the City, and the proclamation was read at the corner of Chancery Lane by Windsor Herald, (Mr. W. A. Lindsay.)

There was great enthusiasm and unusual crowds witnessed the quaint ceremonies.

THE PEACE CELEBRATION

The Peace Celebration was observed in London on July 19 by a historic parade in which all units of the British arms and large contingents of the Allies participated. General Pershing, accompanied by five Generals, headed the American contingent. One hundred and sixty American regimental standards were carried in the procession.

There were details of Belgian, Chinese, and Czechoslovakian troops. General Foch, Marshal of France, led a large body of French troops. Admiral Beatty was in the lead of the British naval contingents, all branches being represented. Sir Douglas Haig rode alone behind his standard bearers, followed by thousands of British troops; regiments were in line from all the British dominions, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, Canadians, and all units of the United Kingdom, as well as all Irish regiments, were in line. Philip Gibbs, in describing the pageant, closed his account as follows:

After two tanks had lolloped by an army pigeon cote passed the King's pavilion, and suddenly the birds were let loose and there flew out many white wings as symbols of the Dove of Peace, which was in the heart of this day. That was the last act of the great march, and then the King turned to his people and they sang the old anthem of loyalty to the spirit of our race and broke bounds and in a wild tumult surged up to the pavilion with deafening cheers.

BELGIUM'S CELEBRATION

Belgium celebrated peace on July 22. President Poincaré of France was present.

A striking feature of the day's proceedings was the parade of school children, reviewed by the three children of King Albert—Prince Leopold, Prince Charles, and Princess Marie José. The Burgomaster likewise took part in the review of the children, who placed wreaths at the feet of maimed soldiers, in tribute to Belgium's living heroes, while at the cenotaphs erected in the

park close to the Royal Palace thousands of persons paid tribute to the heroic dead.

Allied troops passed in review before King Albert and Marshal Foch. Later they paraded past a stand where were assembled President Poincaré, Mme. Poincaré, and members of the Belgian royal family.

The American troops, who were at the head of the procession, were the recipients of showers of flowers and thunders of cheers. The demonstration for the Americans continued throughout the two hours of the march.

Treaty of Peace With Austria

Problems Confronting the Paris Conference — Austrian Counterproposals Urge Inability to Pay

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 20, 1919]

WHEN President Wilson returned from Europe in July there was a widespread feeling that the principal work of the Peace Conference was completed, but the turmoil in connection with Shantung, Hungary, Rumania, Russia, the Irish question, and the problems of the Near and Far East soon demonstrated that the work of the conference was far from being ended.

The Austrian peace treaty, after weeks of exhaustive labor by the conference, was completed and delivered to the Austrian peace delegation at St. Germain on July 20. The complete document was presented to the Austrian delegates without ceremony by M. Dutasta, Secretary General of the Peace Conference. The terms comprised the whole treaty which Austria was asked to sign, including the reparation, financial, military, and minor clauses, which were not ready for presentation when the official ceremony took place.

In an accompanying memorandum the Austrians were given fifteen days to make reply.

Summaries of the treaty were fur-

nished to the press. The terms were substantially as follows:

Austria was to receive the Odenburg region of Hungary—presumably on ethnological grounds, as its population, consisting of several hundred thousand, is largely German. Czechoslovakia was favored in the revised territorial terms in obtaining the cession of a bridgehead on the Danube opposite Pressburg. The importance of this cession is that it controls the terminals of the railroads that furnish connecting links with the Adriatic.

REDUCING AUSTRIAN ARMY

Under the military terms the Austrian Army is henceforth reduced to 30,000 men on a purely voluntary basis. Paragraph 5, relating to the military situation, says that the army shall not exceed 30,000 men, including officers and depot troops. Within three months the Austrian military forces shall be reduced to this number, universal military service abolished, and voluntary enlistment substituted as part of the plan "to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of armaments of all nations."

The army shall be used exclusively for the maintenance of internal order and control of frontiers. All officers must be regulars, those of the present army to be retained being under the obligation to serve until 40 years old, those newly appointed agreeing to at least twenty consecutive years of active service. Non-commissioned officers and privates must enlist for not less than twelve consecutive years, including at least six years with the colors. The manufacture of all war material shall be confined to one single factory under the control of the State, and other establishments shall be closed or converted. Importation and exportation of arms, munitions, and war materials of all kinds are forbidden.

Paragraph 8 (on reparation) reads in substance: The allied and associated Governments affirm, and Austria accepts, the responsibility of Austria and her allies for causing loss and damage to which the allied and associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Austria and her allies. While recognizing that Austria's resources will not be adequate to make complete reparation, the allied and associated Governments request, and Austria undertakes, that she will make compensation for damage done to civilians and their property, in accordance with categories of damages similar to those provided in the treaty with Germany.

COMMISSION TO FIX DAMAGES

The amount of damage is to be determined by the Reparation Commission provided for in the treaty with Germany, which is to have a special section to handle the Austrian situation. The commission will notify Austria before May 1, 1921, of the extent of her liabilities and of the schedule of payments for the discharge thereof during a period of thirty years. It will bear in mind the diminutions of Austria's resources and capacity of payment resulting from the treaty. As immediate reparation, Austria shall pay during 1919, 1920, and the first four months of 1921, in such manner as provided by the Reparation Com-

mission, "a reasonable sum which shall be determined by the commission."

The Austrian section of the Reparation Commission shall include representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Greece, Poland, Rumania, the Serbo-Slovene State, and Czechoslovakia. The first four shall each appoint a delegate with two votes, and the other five shall choose one delegate each year to represent them all. Withdrawal from the commission is permitted on twelve months' notice.

DETAILS OF FINANCIAL TERMS

Paragraph 9, (Financial.)—The first charge upon all the assets and revenues of Austria shall be the costs arising under the present treaty, including, in order of priority, the costs of the armies of occupation, reparations, and other charges specifically agreed to and, with certain exceptions, as granted by the Reparation Commission for payments for imports. Austria must pay the total cost of the armies of occupation from the armistice of Nov. 3, 1918, so long as maintained, and may export no gold before May 1, 1921, without consent of the Reparation Commission.

Each of the States to which Austrian territory is transferred and each of the States arising out of the dismemberment of Austria, including the Republic of Austria, shall assume part of the Austrian pre-war debt specifically secured on railways, salt mines, and other property, the amount to be fixed by the Reparation Commission on the basis of the value of the property so transferred.

No territory formerly part of the empire, except the Republic of Austria, shall carry with it any obligation in respect of the war debt of the former Austrian Government, but neither the Governments of those territories nor their nationals shall have recourse against any other State, including Austria, in respect of war debt bonds held within their respective territories by themselves or their nationals.

Austria, recognizing the right of the Allies to ton-for-ton replacement of all ships lost or damaged in the war, cedes

all merchant ships and fishing boats belonging to nationals of the former empire, agreeing to deliver them within two months to the Reparation Commission. With a view to making good the losses in river tonnage, she agrees to deliver up 20 per cent. of her river fleet.

The allied and associated powers require, and Austria undertakes, that in part reparation she will devote her economic resources to the physical restoration of the invaded areas. Within sixty days of the coming into force of the treaty the Governments concerned shall file with the Reparation Commission lists of animals, machinery, equipment, and the like destroyed by Austria which the Governments desire replaced in kind, and lists of the materials which they desire produced in Austria for the work of reconstruction, which shall be reviewed in the light of Austria's ability to meet them.

Austria agrees to deliver within three months after ratification of the treaty 4,000 milch cows to Italy and 1,000 each to Serbia and Rumania; 1,000 heifers to Italy, 300 to Serbia, and 500 to Rumania; 50 bulls to Italy and 25 each to Serbia and Rumania; 1,000 calves to each of the three nations; 1,000 bullocks to Italy and 500 each to Serbia and Rumania; 2,000 sows to Italy, and 1,000 draft horses and 1,000 sheep to both Serbia and Rumania.

Austria also agrees to give an option for five years as to timber, iron, and magnesite in amounts as nearly equal to the pre-war importations as Austria's resources make possible. She renounces in favor of Italy all cables touching territories assigned to Italy, and in favor of the allied and associated powers the others.

TO RESTORE ART LOOT

Austria agrees to restore all records, documents, objects of antiquity and art, and all scientific and bibliographical material taken away from the invaded or ceded territories. She will also hand over without delay all official records of the ceded territories and all records, documents, and historical material possessed by public institutions and having

a direct bearing on the history of the ceded territories which have been removed during the last ten years, except that for Italy the period shall be from 1861.

As to artistic, archaeological, scientific, or historic objects formerly belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Government or crown, Austria agrees to negotiate with the State concerned for an amicable arrangement for the return to the districts of origin on terms of reciprocity of any object which ought to form part of the intellectual patrimony of the ceded districts, and for twenty years to safeguard all other such objects for the free use of students.

The war debt held outside the former empire shall be a charge on the Republic of Austria alone. All war securities shall be stamped within two months with the stamp of the State taking them up, replaced by certificates, and settlement made to the Reparation Commission.

Austria agrees to deliver within one month the gold deposited as security for the Ottoman debt, renounce any benefits accruing from the treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk, and transfer to the allied and associated Governments all claims against her former allies.

As for special objects carried off by the House of Hapsburg and other dynasties from Italy, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, a committee of three jurists appointed by the Reparation Commission is to examine within a year the conditions under which the objects were removed and to order restoration if the removal were illegal.

AUSTRIAN PRESS COMMENT

Much violent and hostile comment upon the terms of the treaty appeared in the Austrian Press. Dr. Renner, in an interview given in Vienna on July 24, said: "We are invited to an American duel—that is, we have the option of shooting ourselves or being shot. Within the next ten days the Austrian delegates must furnish proofs that Austria is willing to pay with assets which are non-existent." Statistics were given by Dr. Alfred Treichle, Managing Director of the Anglo-Austrian Bank, to show Aus-

tria's utter destitution, both financially and otherwise. Whatever the peace terms were, he declared, they could not be executed. On July 27 Vice Chancellor Fink, in a speech before the Assembly, denounced especially the economic provisions of the treaty as incapable of fulfillment, and the whole treaty as a compromise between "the brutal egoism of our neighbor States and the better discernment of the great powers."

Dr. Renner, accompanied by Dr. Richard Schuller, another member of the Austrian peace delegation, returned to St. Germain, after a consultation with Austrian Government representatives near the Swiss border, on July 27. On his arrival he at once formulated a request to the Peace Conference for an extension of the time accorded Austria for replying to the second part of the peace terms, which were communicated to his delegation on July 20.

AUSTRIAN COUNTERPROPOSALS

This reply was delivered on Aug. 6 in the shape of counterproposals handed to the allied mission in St. Germain at 12:15 o'clock that day. The counterproposals were at once brought and delivered to the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference. The Austrian observations on the treaty, which were considered in Peace Conference circles to be very temperate in tone, were summarized from Vienna as follows:

If German Austria's territorial demands are fulfilled to the minimum extent maintained for in the appendix to the note,

German Austria will make efforts to believe that she can live independently and in peace in this territory. She expects that the League of Nations will hear her in her hour of distress.

On the other hand, German Austria still is firmly convinced that the economic burdens imposed upon her by the Peace Treaty cannot really be carried out, and that if they are not substantially lightened she is bound to collapse.

The note urged amendment, with a view to investing a commission with plenary powers regarding all economic and financial peace conditions. It then argued at length regarding "the unjust and unequal division of old Austria's debts among the States which succeeded it and the injustice of stipulations regarding war loans." The note proposed, as in the case of pre-war debts, that all debts should be divided by the Reparation Commission according to the ability of individual States to meet them. The note was accompanied by extensive proposals on territorial and political questions.

The Supreme Council decided on Aug. 9 that the Peace Conference, which had been in continuous session for eight months, should not take a vacation until after the signing of the treaties with Austria, Bulgaria, and Hungary. A three-day respite, however, was decided on ultimately, and the peace delegates were back in Paris on Aug. 18, encountering stifling heat and finding themselves confronted with the tangible and clear-cut problem of the formulation of the allied reply to the Austrian counterproposals.



Proofs of the Murder of the Czar

Text of the Omsk Government's Report, With Graphic Details and the Names of Assassins

When the Kolchak Government was driven from Ekaterinburg, Russia, on July 7, 1919, its Minister of Justice had just completed a remarkable report on the murder of Czar Nicholas and his family in that town a year earlier. A certified copy of this official document, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, became public in the United States about six weeks after it was written and is here presented in full. It is not only an array of positive proofs of the Czar's murder, but is at the same time a fascinating narrative of one of the most tragic and romantic crimes in history.

TO MONSIEUR LE GERANT OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

ACCORDING to information which we have collected in a judicial inquiry conducted in regard to the murder of Nicholas II. and his family, we are now able to establish the following facts:

In the first days of the month of August, 1917, the ex-Emperor and the imperial family, by order of the Provisional Government, were transferred from Tsarskoe-Selo to Tobolsk, where they dwelt until April 25 (New Style) of the year 1918, on which date, by a formal order of the Central Committee of the Council of Deputies, Workmen and Soldiers, they were informed that they must immediately repair to Ekaterinburg, the place chosen for their new residence.

On account of the illness of the ex-heir to the throne, Alexis Nicholasovitch, they decided by a family council to leave him at Tobolsk in order that he might be cared for by his sisters and the persons of his entourage.

The ex-Emperor, the Empress, and the Grand Duchess Marie Nicholaëvna, accompanied by Prince Dolgorukof, Professor Botkine, and the servants Tchémurof, Sednef, and Demidowa, departed for Ekaterinburg, where on arrival they were installed in the house of a certain Ipatief, and here they were subjected to a treatment which, by its roughness, was not unlike that of a prison.

On May 22 of the same year the other members of the imperial family—that is to say, Alexis Nicholasovitch and Olga Nicholaëvna, Tatiana Nicholaëvna, Ana-

stasia Nicholaëvna, [the ex-Emperor's daughters,] and certain persons of their entourage, also some servants, came to rejoin them.

M. Pierre Gillard, professor of French to the heir and Grand Duchesses, certifies that all the jewels of the imperial family were brought from Tsarskoe-Selo by the Empress, and, in order that they might not be stolen, had them sewn into the hats and buttons belonging to the Grand Duchesses and the ladies of the Court.

In June, 1918, (owing to the movement of the Czechoslovak troops,) the Soviet authorities of Ekaterinburg declared that the ex-Emperor and the entire family ought to be executed; and it was from this date that rumors spread from two distinct sources and were circulated in the town concerning the disappearance of the imperial family. According to some, the entire imperial family had been slain; according to others, it had been sent to Veskoturieff or Perm. All the information which we have been able to gather in a judicial inquiry into this matter confirms with great exactitude the murder of all of the imperial family.

FINDING TRAGIC CLUES

On July 17 peasants of the village of Koptiakys and of the volosty (bailiwick) of Verknie-Isset, named Andrew Chemetiewsky and Michael Alferof, and others noticed certain camps of troops belonging to the Red Army at a distance of eighteen versts (about twelve miles) from the City of Ekaterinburg; these camps had been made in the for-



THE CZAR'S LAST RESIDENCE IN EKATERINBURG, WHERE HE WAS IMPRISONED BY THE BOLSHEVIKI PRIOR TO HIS EXECUTION

ests not far from the village. After the departure of the troops the same peasants, returning by the same road which the detachment of the Red Army had followed, reached a place where the Red Guards had made a halt, and there discovered, near several caved-in and abandoned wells, a small camp where they had made a fire. In scraping over the ashes they found a cross of emeralds, four corset whalebones, some suspender buckles, several slippers, and buttons of false pearls. Moreover, they noticed several other objects on the top of the wells—a cane, tree bark, planks, fir tree branches, and an iron shovel.

The examining Magistrate, after having looked over the approaches to the wells, called the Isset Mine, found an old "vanity bag," some rags of fine linen, lace, and some debris which was black and shining. He also discovered there two tarnished fragments of an emerald and of a pearl, a heap of cloth which smelled of oil, a stone mounted on platinum, very much tarnished, sea-green in color, and quite large; it was a diamond worth 100,000 rubles, (\$50,000,) according to the estimate made by an expert who subjected the stone to a most careful examination.

According to the conclusions reached by this expert, this stone must have belonged to a necklace, a magnificent work of art. On the loam all around the wells they found signs of the explosions of star

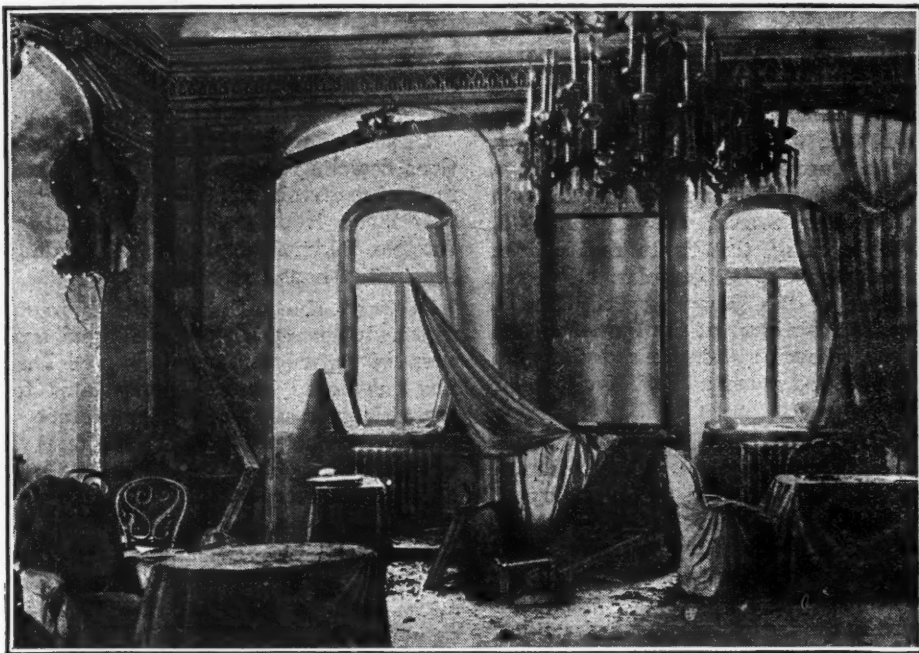
shells, and on the walls of the wells there were still traces where grenades had been exploded within. After having pumped the water from the wells and removed the sand which had fallen in, they found a finger which had belonged to a human hand, a set of false teeth, some pieces of bomb, a man's scarf pin, and other objects of little importance.

THE JEWELS IDENTIFIED

M. Pierre Gillard, to whom we showed the diamond and the other objects, certified that the necklace of which it had formed a part had been sewn into one of the dresses worn by one of the Grand Duchesses, either Olga or Titiana Nicolaëvna. As to a pearl-set earring, that was identified by the same witness as similar to those carried by the ex-Empress. Derevenko believed that he recognized in the false teeth the set used by Dr. Botkine.

In comparing the earring found on the edge of the well with those shown in a photograph of the ex-Empress, which was furnished the investigating commission, there can be no possible doubt as to its origin. The other earring could not be found on the place examined. However, we discovered several pieces of pearl, and the expert, after having established their quality by analysis, deducted that they belonged to another earring identical to the one found.

As to the section of a finger, a physi-



INTERIOR OF THE PALACE AT EKATERINBURG AFTER THE MURDER OF THE CZAR AND HIS FAMILY

cian called in as an expert declared that it had belonged to a woman's hand particularly well manicured.

After an examination of the Ipatief house where the imperial family had lived, the fact was established that the door of one of the rooms on the upper floor had been broken in by bayonet blows and forced from its hinges by some instrument. On the lower floor, in a room where we believe the crime must have been committed, we observed on the wall opposite the door six little holes at varying distances one from another. Similar holes are visible on the left side of the floor at a place where traces of blood have been washed away or scrubbed with sand. A careful examination of these holes reveals that they were made by the passage of explosive bullets; moreover, in some of the holes there are still traces of dried blood.

According to depositions in regard to these holes, which are seen on the wall of the room at the height of from 5 to 32 vershoks (from 7½ to 50 inches) above the floor, and which are also to be seen on the floor, we are permitted to con-

clude that several persons were shot, some standing up and some lying down. On one of the walls of the same room can be read the following inscription, made in German by an almost illiterate hand:

"This is the night on which the Czar has been shot."

The foregoing is the only material evidence on which we are permitted to base the conclusion that the murder of the imperial family has taken place; as to other evidence, the investigation has gathered it by submitting to examination a long list of witnesses.

STORY OF A WITNESS

In September a soldier of the Red Army, after being interrogated, produced numerous objects which had belonged to the imperial family. According to the deposition of this soldier, whose name is Letemine, some he had taken during the cleaning of the Ipatief house, while some he had received from his brother, who was also of the Red Army.

Kouzma Letemine, on being summoned

as a witness, deposed that he had been engaged as a guard at the Ipatief house, and explains in great detail the exacting regulations of this guard. He gives the names of many of the guards, among which was that of their commander, a certain Turowsky, and his Adjutant, a millhand, Paul Medvedef. According to what Letemine said, on July 16, 1918, in the evening, that is to say, on the eve of the supposed murder, he was a member of the group at Post No. 3, near the main door of the Ipatief house; he was relieved at 8 in the morning, and then mounted guard at Post No. 4, (near a kiosk.)

At the exact time he mounted guard at No. 4 he saw there a youth named Sedenof, who had been in the service of the ex-Emperor. Very much astonished at meeting him at that place, he asked the guards present why the boy was there. One of the guards answered by an evasive wave of the hand, and another said that in the night the ex-Emperor, with his wife, his children, a servant, and several ladies of honor had been shot. The guard who told this said that he had it from one of the soldiers of the Red Army, a certain Stekorine, who had been on guard the night before. This Stekorine had gone on to say that the commandant, Turowsky, had killed the Emperor after he had read to him some sort of a paper, and at that moment the ex-Empress and her eldest daughter had made the sign of the cross.

After the ex-Emperor had been shot by the Lettons and Paul Medvedef, (of whom there had been some doubt,) it was the turn of the rest of the imperial family and other persons of their suite. The traces of blood on the floor had been immediately washed and covered with sand. As to the bodies, they had been put in an auto drag which immediately started away.

Afterward the witness had beard it said that the youth who had been in the ex-Emperor's service had been sent to Tsarskoe-Selo and that Medvedef had set out for the front with other soldiers of the Red Army.

The scene of the crime has also been described by the wife of that same Paul Medvedef. In her deposition this woman

said that her husband had actually taken part in the murder, for he had told her about it.

THE BRUTAL EXECUTION

One of the most significant depositions depicting the scene of the crime is that of a certain Capitoline Agafonova, who made it after what her brother, Anatole Iakimof, engaged in guarding the Ipatief house, had told her.

In July, she said, Anatole Iakimof, who had the appearance of fatigue and even of emaciation, came to see her. She questioned him, and he related to her with great emotion the circumstances in which Nicholas Romanoff, his family, the physician, the ladies of honor, and the valet had been killed:

"Toward 1 in the morning"—for it is thus that he began his story—"all the prisoners were awakened and told to come down to the lower floor. They came and were then told that the enemy would presently arrive at Ekaterinburg and that we were going to execute them. Shortly after shots were heard and the Emperor and the heir were first killed; the others were only wounded."

And Iakimof continued: "That is why we were obliged to finish them off with rifle butts and bayonets. There was one lady of honor who kicked a great deal. She even fought, hiding herself behind a bolster. Later we found thirty-two wounds on her body. The Grand Duchess Anastasia Nicholaëvna fainted, and, when we began to search her, yelled with all her might. She was finally quieted by bayonet strokes and blows of rifle butts."

The scene of the crime, declared Iakimof, had been so terrible and so atrocious that he endured it with difficulty and was even obliged to go out in order to cool off.

Capitoline Agafonova adds: "It is impossible not to believe the story of Anatole Iakimof, for on the evening of that very day—the day after the crime—as he said farewell to me, his manner was unnatural; he appeared to be all in, his eyeballs were sticking out, his lower lip trembled; it was quite evident that he must have experienced a terrible thing the night before."

RED SOLDIER'S TESTIMONY

Another soldier of the Red Army, named Prokonyi Kontenkof, also detailed to guard the imperial family, has just been arrested. He declares that on July 18 or 19 he ran across the President of the Executive Committee of the Council of Deputies, Workmen and Soldiers, Sergius Pavlovich; Peter Epurakof of the Military Commission, and other important members of the Bolshevik Party, at the workmen's club of the factory of Upper Isset. They were acting very mysteriously, but the witness had heard the following words:

"There were in all thirteen—the thirteenth was the doctor."

Having perceived the witness, the aforesaid persons went into the garden and continued their conversation there. He followed them without being observed, and, hiding in the grass, he listened attentively. Then he heard this:

"Here we have been fussing about for two days; yesterday we buried them and today we buried them again."

From scraps of conversation which reached his ears the witness concluded that three of the party, Levatine, Partine, and Kostousof, had taken part in the burial of the ex-Emperor and his family. A man named Krivizof had asked questions. Levatine and Partine had answered, and with an air of having been proud of what they had done.

The witness had also heard Levatine say:

"When we came they were still warm. As to the Empress, I touched her here and there, and from the moment that I did so my sins were forgiven, and I can die in peace."

As to the way they were clothed, the number of persons, and as to the jewelry they had, Partine replied that all were in civilian dress; that they had jewels sewed in their clothing, and that among the women there was not one who was good-looking.

The witness had also heard these words: "They told us that the heir to the throne had died at Tobolsk, but he was here."

There was also the question as to where they had buried their victims.

They first mentioned two places situated behind the second station of Ekaterinburg; then they had carried them away and buried them in different places, "but exactly where," the witness added, "they did not say."

MYSTERIOUS AUTO DRAYS

Aside from the foregoing, the inquiry and the interrogation to which we subjected several persons have established the fact that in the night of July 17 several automobiles left the Ipatief house. Moreover, according to information furnished by the administration officer, Leonof, it appears that on July 17 the Supply Commissioner at the front, Gorbunof, sent five auto drays, which had been returned on July 19, all covered with mud and blood, in spite of a cleaning and washing which they had evidently undergone.

In spite of all evidence establishing beyond reasonable doubt the murder of the imperial family, there are a number of persons who testified that its members had not been shot, but that they had been transported from Ekaterinburg to Perm or to Verkoturief. Hence the investigation was expanded along these lines, but has not been able to confirm the truth of the rumors of the transfer nor has it been able to find a single witness who would certify to having personally seen the departure of the imperial family.

The foregoing constitute all the evidential matter gathered by the preliminary inquiry made with a view to establish the fact of the crime having been committed.

We have recently seized all the correspondence by telegraph of the Regional Council of Deputies, Workmen and Peasants of Ekaterinburg. An examination will be made of all this correspondence, which should establish the attitude taken by the authorities, both central and local.

Moreover, one of the principal accomplices in the crime has just been arrested. He is Paul Medvedef, who is about to be interrogated. The Commission of Judicial Inquiry counts much on the examination of this witness, thanks to whom it is expected that all the details of the crime may be reconstructed. It is

very probable, therefore, that before long we shall have information as to where the bodies were finally buried.

The Minister of Justice reposes great importance in this case, takes all necessary measures which may hasten the procedure of the judicial investigation, and directs it to the proper end. An examining Magistrate accustomed to the most important cases, Peter Sokolof, is in charge of it.

At the same time every precaution has already been taken to preserve all the objects brought together during the investigation and which, having belonged to the ex-Emperor or to his family, have a historic value.

(Signed) STARYN KEVITCH,
Minister of Justice.

True copy of the original.

N. NIKIFOROF,
Director of the Second Department.

The New British Ambassador

Viscount Grey of Fallodon and Some Aspects of His Years in the British Foreign Office

AFTER a vacancy of several months, which might almost be described as an interregnum—so important are the duties of the post—it was learned on Aug. 13 that the British Embassy at Washington was to be occupied for a while by Viscount Grey. The delay of the British Government in filling, even temporarily, so important a post has been variously explained, but very few of the explanations have covered the truth.

From the murder of British subjects in Mexico and the destruction of British property there to the suits of American merchants and citizens against the British Government arising from the British blockade methods during the first thirty months of the war; from the necessity of overhauling old treaties, many of which have been rendered inoperative by subsequent acts of Congress, to the necessity of placing the entire diplomatic relations between London and Washington upon a new basis and in conformity with the League of Nations, there is no other nation which presents to the British Foreign Office such a huge mass of difficult and intricate problems to be solved, differences of infinite potentialities for misunderstanding and actual danger, as does the United States.

Hence the Embassy at Washington needed something more than a diplomat who should be *persona gratisima*. It

needed a statesman who, while enjoying every confidence here, should, at the same time, be able to return home with the greatest series of diplomatic victories that ever a diplomat has achieved without sacrificing a grain of personal or national honor—indeed, with the satisfaction of feeling that both had been measurably augmented.

That is the situation which now confronts our State Department on account of the appointment of Viscount Grey, and, as the only way to establish a hypothesis for the future is by a comprehension and logical adjustment of the past, it may be interesting to review the career of Viscount Grey in the light of his statesmanship and diplomacy with a certain amount of emphasis laid on that valuable but illusive thing known as the personal equation.

To the formative influence of a distinguished ancestry of North of England land owners, among whom were soldiers and scholars, were added those of Winchester School and Balliol College and the lifelong friendship of Dr. Creighton, the late Bishop of London, and a sort of special course at the Gladstonian school of rectitude without the vacillating phases of a too-sentimental morality. Fly-fishing, ornithology, and tennis with the satisfaction of having won the Queen's Club Prize for 1896, and an unbounded love of nature and of nature's creatures,

and, in later years, the dark vision of impending blindness—all these things contribute toward the mental, physical, and spiritual equipment of the man, furnishing him with a mine of resources



VISCOUNT GREY
The New British Ambassador

that might be drawn upon when occasion demanded.

HIS DIPLOMATIC BEGINNINGS

He was already 33 years of age, and had represented Berwick-on-Tweed for seven years in the House of Commons as a radical Liberal, when, in 1892, Gladstone induced him to take the Under Secretaryship in the Foreign Office, which he held for three years, or as long as the Campbell-Bannerman Government lasted. Thus equipped with the technique of Downing Street he was able to avoid all academic mistakes when he entered upon his great career as Foreign Secretary ten years later. And the success which he had achieved as a demonstrator and expounder of the policies of his

chosen and ancestral party in the House he carried with him into the councils of Ministers.

There have been many attempts to explain this success. Most biographers, while accepting a common basis, one neither entirely oratorical nor entirely rhetorical, have widely diverged when summing up his attributes of sustained influence; but all biographers have furnished sufficient data from which that sustained influence, the real secret of his power, in both Westminster and Downing Street, may be defined: He is a realist with the genius of fashioning an innate idealism to do his bidding, and thus, whether in public debate or private conference, he invariably conveys the impression that he is master of the assembly he is addressing, and that he is disinterestedly imparting the plain truth as he sees it.

Such, indeed, was the impression of him conveyed to Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador at the Court of St. James's when the war began. In the Prince's famous memorandum there is a thousand-word eulogy full of intimate, even tender, and utterly spontaneous impressions of the then Sir Edward Grey, ending with a well-aimed Parthian shot at Wilhelmstrasse:

"And this is the man who was called 'The Liar Grey' and 'the Originator of the World War'!"

THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE

The office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs which Grey, first as a Baronet and then as a peer, occupied from 1905 till December, 1916, grew into prominence in the international conferences succeeding the Napoleonic wars and was administered by successive great men—Canning, Palmerston, Clarendon, Russell, Stanley, Granville, Salisbury, Rosebery, Lansdowne—but usually as the international voice of the Prime Minister. Salisbury alone made it the actual voice of that office by absorbing the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Grey elevated the portfolio to real, almost independent, distinction, and kept it so for eleven years.

When Grey first took office a succession of events had placed Germany in a

jealous and antagonistic mood—the Franco-Russian Alliance had been confirmed in 1902, and in 1904 there had been that precursor of the Triple Entente, the Anglo-French convention, which had given Great Britain a free hand in Egypt and France in Morocco. Germany declined to recognize the convention and forced upon the powers the Algeiras Congress. France, being unprepared, backed down. Her able Foreign Secretary, M. Delcassé, resigned. Her fate at the congress would have been hard, indeed, had not Grey come to the rescue and preserved the dignity of the republic while enhancing that of Britain. In 1907 he negotiated the treaty with Russia which ended all causes for a quarrel in the Near and Far East. So that when King Edward died in 1910, British diplomacy dominated the Continent, save where Germany was smarting under her feeling of isolation, both real and imagined. To assuage this feeling Lord Haldane, full of sympathy with the Germany of Jena and Weimar, and with a characteristic toleration for that of the Wilhelmstrasse, was sent to Berlin, with schemes for mutual disarmament and political readjustment. The German reply offering an alliance, which would have been distinctly anti-French, was diplomatically declined by the British Foreign Office, and the Kaiser in resentment set about to divert the Czar from his alliance with France.

INCIDENTS BEFORE THE WAR

Then came two major events which had a measurable influence on the diplomacy that ushered in the great war, and which, without Grey, might have precipitated that world conflagration one or two years earlier—the Agadir crisis, in the Summer of 1911, with its two trying appendages, the Italo-Turkish war and the Shuster affair in Persia, and the Balkan wars of 1912-13.

In the first, as though with a premonition of what was to come three years later, Grey unhesitatingly supported France, although, as he frankly admitted a year later, he was fully aware that the Caillaux Government was secretly trying to make a private arrangement at Berlin which would "double-cross" Great

Britain. The revelation almost upset the Government, but, as always, he trusted both the French and the British people, and was not disappointed in the end. He kept both Berlin and Vienna engaged in conversations, while Italy achieved her ambitions in Tripoli; he backed up Russia in disposing of W. Morgan Shuster, the American Treasurer General in Persia—an act which both Russia and England probably deeply regretted when the great war came, for Shuster had been on the eve of making Persia a real nation when forced to go home.

The war of the Balkan States against Turkey had not been under way a month before Grey instituted the Ambassadorial Congress at London which kept the war localized, and blunted, for a time, Austria's resentment at the ultimate victory of the Russian policy there by acquiescing in the establishment of the new State of Albania and shutting out Serbia from the sea. The second Balkan war took him, by his own frank confession, quite by surprise; nevertheless, he did his best to lessen the resentment felt against Bulgaria at the Bucharest Congress. Unfortunately, two years later, this same predilection for Bulgaria caused him to accept without hesitation the Bulgarian Government's solemn declaration that it was mobilizing against Turkey, when subsequent events quickly showed that the mobilization was against Serbia. He was deceived. But so were Viviani and Salandra. His explanation in the House of Commons on Oct. 15, 1915, reveals, in the light of events, how natural had been his mistake.

COMING OF THE GREAT WAR

His attitude after Vienna launched her ultimatum at Belgrade on July 23, 1914, is on record in the published diplomatic correspondence. It is concisely put in a letter he sent to be read to his constituency at Berwick on Sept. 10. It reads with almost prophetic insight:

I hope that all my constituents have realized from the Parliamentary papers that have been published how sincere and strenuous our efforts were to prevent a European war.

When these efforts failed we would gladly have stood aside had it been possible, but we were bound to make the

observation of Belgian neutrality—a neutrality guaranteed by a treaty of long standing, to which we were a party—one of the conditions of our own neutrality. The German Government had asked us to waive that condition, and to condone a violation of a solemn and settled treaty to which Germany, as well as ourselves, was a party. There could be but one honorable answer to such a request.

Subsequently came the appeal from Belgium to uphold the treaty, and the gallant resistance made by the Belgians to an overwhelming force. Had we sat still and ignored this appeal and this resistance, we should, indeed, have been detested by friends and despised by enemies.

The progress of the war has revealed what a terrible and immoral thing German militarism is. It is against German militarism that we must fight; the whole of Western Europe would fall under it if Germany were to be successful in this war.

But if, as a result of the war, the independence and integrity of the smaller European States can be secured, and Western Europe liberated from the menace of German militarism, and the German people itself freed from that militarism—for it is not the German people, but Prussian militarism, which has driven Germany and Europe into this war—if that militarism can be overcome, indeed there will be a brighter and a freer day for Europe, which will compensate us for the awful sacrifices that war entails.

TWO LITTLE-KNOWN DISPATCHES

That Grey was abundantly justified has now been established by history, but through no more convincing evidence than that contained in two little-known dispatches sent by Count von Szogyeny-Marich, the Austrian Ambassador at Berlin, to his Government in Vienna, just after the Serbian ultimatum had been delivered. Both are in cipher and both marked "strictly private" and quite naturally do not figure in either the German White Book or the Austrian Red Book. They read:

Berlin, July 25, 1914.

It is generally supposed here that a negative reply from Serbia will be followed on our part by an immediate declaration of war and military operations. Any adjournment of military operations would be considered here as very dangerous on account of intervention by other powers. We are counseled with the great-

est insistence to pass immediately to action and thus put the world in face of an accomplished fact.

Berlin, July 27, 1914.

The Secretary of State has just declared to me positively, but under the seal of most strict secrecy, that very soon eventual propositions of mediation from England will be brought to the knowledge of your Excellency. The German Government assures me in the most convincing manner that it in no way identifies itself with these propositions, that it is absolutely against their being taken into consideration, and that it will only transmit them to us to give effect to the English request.

The correspondence between the State Department at Washington and Downing Street in regard to the tension caused by the drastic British blockade and the "blacklist" during the first two years of the war is upon record. So are Grey's ideas in regard to a league of nations, and kindred other subjects, then in their inception. On one other previous occasion Washington had reason to test the Englishman's diplomacy—not in the Shuster matter, for with that Washington had no concern—it was when he corresponded with Secretary Knox, in 1913, on the subject of the Panama Canal tolls. And just as eighteen years before Lord Salisbury reversed his opinion owing to the persuasion of President Cleveland, so now President Wilson reversed his owing to the convincing arguments of the British Foreign Secretary.

After Viscount Grey's retirement from Downing Street, in December, 1916, criticism leveled at the prior conduct of the war, although it demolished the reputations of some of his former colleagues, left him higher than ever in the esteem of his countrymen, and from his seat in the House, when health permitted, he added the weight of his experienced counsel toward strengthening and clarifying the policies of the Lloyd George Government, which, according to the statement of Andrew Bonar Law, made in the House of Commons on Aug. 13, 1919, would like very much to keep him permanently at Washington, if he would only consent to stay.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 20, 1919]

LABOR UNREST

STRIKES in various European countries and in the United States continued throughout July and August. In the United States on Aug. 1 there was a serious strike of railway shopmen, who demanded higher wages. Some 30,000 shopmen in Chicago and 100,000 other men in the Chicago district were affected. At Boston about 8,000 shopmen also went out on strike. The whole matter was brought to President Wilson's attention on the presentation to Congress of the Plumb plan for the nationalization of the railroads. On Aug. 7 he issued an announcement that Mr. Hines, Director General of the Railroads, was vested with full power to adjust wage differences, but only on condition that the strikers returned to work. This ultimately led to at least a temporary adjustment of the trouble.

A serious condition of affairs developed in August in Brooklyn and New York in connection with strikes of the employes of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit and the Interborough. In Brooklyn scenes of violence occurred, the strikers defying the police and dragging car crews from their posts in defiance of the police. Mayor Hylan appealed to the courts to compel Lindley M. Garrison, receiver of the Brooklyn lines, to deal with the strikers, but Mr. Garrison's refusal to do this was upheld. The whole system was practically paralyzed, and every possible means of conveyance was used by the homebound throngs. Mr. Garrison was finally prevailed upon to treat with the strikers, and the latter were given an opportunity to expose their grievances. The workers agreed to return to work on Aug. 9.

Barely had the strike ended, when another began in New York on the Interborough, whose men went out on strike on Aug. 17. Some 14,000 were ordered out. A bitter wrangle ended the final meeting of the workers' representative and the Mayor, who vainly sought post-

ponement. The strikers demanded a 50 per cent. increase of salary. After two days' desperate confusion in the city's transportation system the strike was brought to an end on Aug. 19 by an agreement reached through Public Service Commissioner Lewis Nixon and Governor Smith, whereby the trainmen were induced to return to work on the basis of a 25 per cent. increase of wages and the promise of arbitration on the rest.

A strike of a sensational nature was that of the actors of the various theatres of New York. Many playhouses were closed in consequence; bitter feeling was aroused between the actors and the managers, who refused to recognize the Actors' Equity Union, and one manager sued the actors for \$500,000 to cover the losses sustained by the producers through the closing of the theatres. Chicago theatres were also closed by the actors' strike. On Aug. 17 the stage hands and musicians joined the strike in New York, where sixteen houses were dark. At this time the arrival of Federal mediators to settle the dispute was announced.

On July 26 the strike of marine workers ended. A new strike, however, was immediately threatened by the marine engineers, who had not joined the seamen and the firemen, and who demanded a large increase in wages. This increase was granted, and the whole marine strike difficulty composed.

* * *

ENGLAND'S PENSION RATES

SIR LAMING WORTHINGTON-SEVANS, Minister of Pensions, in giving the House of Commons an explanation on the pension situation on July 31, said that at the present rate the pensions would amount to £96,000,000 in a full year. Sir Laming announced a new scale of pensions for totally disabled single men of 40 shillings weekly and for married men 50 shillings weekly, being an increase, respectively, of 7 and 17 shillings on the previous scale. Proportionate increases were to be given

for children, widows, and other dependents of soldiers.

* * *

ALLENBY AND PLUMER MADE FIELD MARSHALS

IT was announced on Aug. 1 that General E. H. H. Allenby, formerly commander of the British forces in Palestine and at present Special High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, and Lieut. Gen. Sir Herbert Plumer, commander of the Second British Army, had been raised to the rank of Field Marshal.

Field Marshal Allenby's most recent achievement was the restoration of order in Egypt during March and April. Early in his career he saw active service in various expeditions, and was twice cited in the South African war. He became best known throughout the world through the capture of Jerusalem and Jericho in 1917 and 1918 during his successful campaign in Palestine. He is 58 years old.

Field Marshal Plumer entered the British military service in 1876. He was successively commander of the 3d British Army Corps in France, the Second British Army in the South Ypres offensive in 1917, which carried out the Messines attack, and commander of the British forces in Italy. Later he returned to the British front in France and with the Second Army carried out successfully the operations beyond Ypres until the armistice. He had become prominent in British military circles during the South African war through his training of the Matabeleland relief force. He is 62 years old.

* * *

LEAGUE STAFF IN SUNDERLAND HOUSE

IT was announced in London in July that the staff of the League of Nations would in future be quartered at Sunderland House. Early in the war this famous residence, the property of the Duchess of Marlborough, was taken over by the Government, and it is likely for some time to remain in official hands.

Sunderland House was built as a private residence for the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, after the former's marriage to the American heiress, Miss Van-

derbilt, on the site of Mayfair or Curzon Chapel, which was pulled down in 1899. It was in this chapel, presided over by Alexander Keith, that one of the beautiful Misses Gunning was married to the Duke of Hamilton; here also Lord George Bentinck and the heiress, Miss Mary Davies, were married in 1753. The story is told that Queen Victoria once said to the Duke of Marlborough that she had never been in Curzon Street, though she must have passed not far from it as a girl numberless times, on her way from Kensington Palace with her mother to visit the King, her uncle, William IV., at St. James's Palace.

Until Sunderland House raised its magnificent head at the top of Curzon Street, the aristocratic appearance of the lower end of the street had dwindled away into small shops and eating-houses, where Bolton, Clarges, and Half Moon Streets flow into it. Within a stone's throw, however, are many historic buildings, and some of the most interesting literary landmarks of London are still to be found in Curzon Street.

* * *

ZEPPELIN DESTROYER HONORED

EARLY in August a secret of the war was revealed in England, when Justice Sargeant presided at a meeting of the Royal Commission on Awards to Inventors at Queen Anne's Gate, at which a claim was made on behalf of Mrs. Brock, widow of Commander Brock. Commander Brock, it then developed, was the inventor of the Brock anti-Zeppelin bullet, and it was on this basis that the claim was made by Mr. Albert, his brother-in-law, on the specific instructions of Commander Brock himself before he went to Zeebrugge, where he met his death. The time had arrived, said Mr. Albert, when it should be made public that the Brock bullet played a very important part in bringing down the Zeppelins, especially in the early days, which represented the most dangerous stage of the menace. Other bullet inventors had been given wide publicity, but respecting the invention of Commander Brock the British authorities had maintained full secrecy. The facts, as he expounded them, were as follows:

In 1916 a commission awarded certain marks to the different types of bullets, taking into consideration the perseverance of the inventor, civil and military values, and the restoration of public confidence. This commission decided that the Brock bullet was worth 31¼ per cent. and the Pomeroy 35 per cent. It was pointed out that the Germans had found some way of counteracting the bullets, and it was to combat this that Commander Brock invented his bullet devised to function on the fabric, which was the essential point. Evidence was presented to show that this Brock bullet was subsequently contained in every mixture of bullets shot at Zeppelins and that it was most effective in every shot. Tests showed that usually two or three Brock bullets fired in the same place would explode a Zeppelin. Witnesses of high standing were called to confirm these and other statements. It appeared that Commander Brock had also invented many other devices.

A high tribute to the inventor's personality was voiced by Mr. Trevor Watson. On behalf of the Admiralty he emphasized the immense value of Commander Brock's services. Nothing in the inventor's whole life was more characteristic than his manner of leaving it. He had come to the conclusion that the Germans had a rangefinder superior to that of Britain, and he went to Zeebrugge to find out its nature and construction. It was while he was examining this rangefinder that he met his death. The Admiralty had no disposition to fight his claim, said the official. The commission had considered the award privately and would make its recommendation in the usual way.

* * *

AUTONOMY OF BRITISH INDIA

THE report of the committee appointed last January, under the Chairmanship of Lord Crewe, to inquire into the organization of the India Office and the relations between Whitehall and the Government of India was issued on July 9. Among the main matters of reference was the interchange of appointments with the Indian service and the throwing open of a proportion of

appointments to Indians. The report of the committee declared that the time had come for a demarkation between the agency work of the India Office and its political and administrative functions and that the step would commend itself to all classes of opinion in India as marking a stage toward full dominion status. A transfer of such work to a High Commissioner of India was therefore recommended. Other measures looking toward the establishment of home rule in India were proposed. Minority reports of dissent or modification were presented simultaneously.

* * *

VISCOUNT GREY AS AMBASSADOR

AN **ANNOUNCEMENT** was made on Aug. 13 that Viscount Grey, former British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had agreed to represent the British Government at Washington pending the appointment of a permanent Ambassador. It was explained by Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons that Viscount Grey would deal particularly with questions arising out of the peace settlement. The appointment, he intimated, would be of the highest value in its influence on relations between the British and American peoples. The provisional nature of the appointment, he explained, was due to the Viscount's failing eyesight. It was stated in Washington on receipt of news of the appointment that many complicated subjects were awaiting discussion between the two nations, and that the consent of Viscount Grey to represent Great Britain in these matters was extremely gratifying to the Washington authorities.

* * *

HONORS FOR THE DEAD IN FRANCE

A **CEREMONY** of national gratitude to the soldiers of the great war was held on Aug. 2 at the Sorbonne in Paris. President Poincaré and Cabinet members, the Archbishop of Paris, the British and Italian Foreign Ministers, Mr. Polk, American Assistant Secretary of State; the Diplomatic Corps, peace delegates, and many others attended. Addresses were made by Paul Deschanel, President of the Chamber of Deputies;

Marshal Foch and other prominent personages. Premier Clemenceau sent a message addressed particularly to the school children, in which he said: "France is calling us in peace as she did in war." President Poincaré said: "The dead alone have the right to rest; but we must continue their work and realize their wishes. Yesterday France found soldiers. Today she must find citizens." Poems glorifying the memory of the dead soldiers, of whom the audience were forcibly reminded by the presence of a delegation of soldiers mutilated in the war, were written for the occasion by Jean Richepin and Jean Aicard.

* * *

AMERICANS BURIED IN FRANCE

BECAUSE of the reluctance of the French Government to permit the disinterment of the bodies of American soldiers buried in French soil, the United States War Department, in a statement issued on July 29, suggested that the families of Americans who fell in battle might prefer that their dead remain in the cemeteries to be provided by the American Government. The statement of the War Department was, in part, as follows:

There are approximately 4,500,000 bodies interred in France as a result of the war. The attitude of the French Government is against the removal of any of these. A proposed law is under consideration by the French Parliament, which, if passed, would prohibit such removal for three years from Jan. 1, 1919. The matter now is being regulated by ministerial action along the lines of the proposed law.

The following are, perhaps, some of the reasons which have entered into the consideration of this matter:

(a) France was a nation in mourning for the four years of the war. To permit the removal of the French dead by relatives, with consequent funerals and renewed mourning, would only add to the long period of national depression at a time when the opposite should prevail in order to undertake the tremendous work of reconstruction.

(b) The removal and transfer of large numbers of bodies might be productive of epidemics and pestilence.

Negotiations with the French Government are now in progress with the view to obtaining a modification or waiver of present ministerial prohibition, and of the proposed law itself, if passed, so that the

American dead may be returned to the United States before the expiration of the three-year period.

For the bodies that are to remain permanently in France the United States Government will undoubtedly provide cemeteries or "American Fields of Honor." They will be maintained always by the American Government. The French Government has considerably offered to cede several tracts for this purpose at Romagne-sous-Montfaucon, in the heart of the Meuse-Argonne battlefield, and another on the slopes of Mont Valerien, near Paris.

* * *

RED CROSS WORK FOR FRENCH MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

THE American Red Cross has received notice from the officials of Seine-Inferieure, a district of France embracing approximately 2,000,000 people, that they have taken over and provided for the permanent maintenance of an organization for the protection of mothers and children installed by the Red Cross. This announcement revealed for the first time one of the many activities of the American relief organizations in France that will be an enduring reminder of this country's friendship. Accompanying the official communication expressing France's gratitude to the Red Cross was a gold medal.

* * *

FRANCE AND THE VATICAN

THE more or less private efforts which have been in progress for many months past with a view to bringing about a renewal of the official relations between France and the Vatican have been brought to an abrupt end by a flat refusal on the part of France to reopen negotiations. The Vatican view was expressed by Cardinal Gasparri in an interview reported in *Le Journal* on July 3. In this interview the Cardinal intimated that it was for France to judge if the re-establishment of diplomatic relations would be useful or necessary, and it would be for her to take the initiative. The Vatican would respond with pleasure, provided that France made the negotiations direct and without intermediary. The whole question arose in the French Chamber on July 2 in connection with the appointment of Bishops in the newly liberated provinces of Alsace and Lor-

rairie. The former incumbents of these Bishoprics were, of course, pro-Germans; they had fled and their places must be filled. Accused by certain Senators favorable to the renewal of relations with the Vatican—but opposed to the Concordat—of carrying on oblique negotiations through the British Minister to the Vatican and through official negotiations with Cardinal Amette, M. Stephen Pichon, French Foreign Minister, replied:

There have been neither negotiations nor bargainings. The Concordat which exists in Alsace is still in force. In France the separation law exists, and is in force. We shall have no diplomatic relations with the Vatican, either official or semi-official.

* * *

FRANCE LOST 173 BRIDGES

ACCORDING to a report made public in August, 173 French bridges were destroyed during the war. The Somme bridges would be the first to be restored, and five of these had already been completed. Clearing of the Somme Canal and other waterways to permit navigation had been begun, and eighty-seven wrecked bridges thus far had been removed from the streams.

* * *

SWITZERLAND'S AID TO THE WOUNDED

MORE than 100,000 mutilated, seriously wounded soldiers were transported to their respective home countries through Switzerland during the war. The men were transported in hospital trains with the assistance of the Swiss Red Cross. A further movement of these soldiers is expected from France to Germany through Switzerland, which will bring the total up to 110,000.

* * *

DUMDUM CHARGES DISPROVED

ANEW critic of Germany's war policies known throughout Germany as H. B. H. Binder, under which name he wrote war newspaper articles as a correspondent attached to Staff Headquarters, published evidence on July 28 which disproved the charges brought by Germany of the French and British use of dumdummy bullets and other atrocities. The man he charged with responsibility for the falsehoods was Major Nikolai

Mehr, former head of the Intelligence section of Great Headquarters.

After the fall of Longwy on Aug. 26, 1914, he said, the Germans found a large quantity of concave-nosed cartridges and several lathes for drilling out the tips of projectiles. Immediately a formal protest was sent out to the world against this use of dumdummy as a violation of the Convention of Geneva. Even the Kaiser himself got excited and sent his famous protest telegram to President Wilson.

But captured French officers laughed. Because of the limited area for rifle practice at Longwy, they said, it was dangerous to use the regular form of ammunition, and therefore holes were drilled in the noses of the bullets used for this purpose to reduce distance of travel. Military Attachés of neutral States, then at Great Headquarters, said their countries did the same, and tests showed the extreme range of these cartridges was 400 meters, but Major Nikolai Mehr, having published the dumdummy charges to the world, would not give way.

In search of further evidence, he ordered all field hospitals to report all wounds caused by dumdummy; but when the reports charged only about two out of 10,000 wounds to this cause, he had to look further for proof. The account continues as follows:

And one day he thought he had it. He brought a stack of English rifles to the headquarters of the correspondents and Military Attachés whom he had called into conference. He said he had proof that removed all doubt, and pointed triumphantly to the English weapon. "There you see clearly," were his words, "the English use dumdummy. Here on this rifle is a clipping device for making dumdummy."

Immediately the American, Argentine, and Spanish Military Attachés, and the German correspondents, who also are experts on arms, opposed the statement. They expressed surprise that he didn't recognize the device as a telescope sight.

This response naturally irritated Nikolai, but it did not change his views. As a result, an announcement went to the world from the German General Staff that the British used dumdummy and that there were clipping devices on their rifles for preparing them.

Concerning the General Staff charge

of Aug. 3, 1914, that French planes flew across Belgium, violating its neutrality, and bombed railroads in Baden and Bavaria, Binder said:

This announcement, which lacked any foundation in fact, was given out solely to arouse public spirit.

A similar announcement that a railway near Nuremberg was bombed a day earlier, Binder said, was fabricated for stage effect, but had little result because of the places selected. He spoke of the well-poisoning story as "recalling the horror of the fairy tales of the Middle Ages."

* * *

HOW AN AMERICAN WON A RUSSIAN MEDAL

BRIG. GEN. GEORGE H. HARRIES, head of the American Military Mission at Berlin, when asked by General Pershing why he was wearing a Russian medal of St. George, told the commanding General how he had won the decoration. Interested in the repatriation of the many thousand Russian prisoners of war, he had superintended the guarding of the Russian prison camps. In March 3,000 Russian prisoners were sent back to Russia by Germany, were captured by the Bolsheviks, and were offered an alternative of Bolshevism or death. They chose the latter, and only a small number escaped with their lives. In April the Germans decided to repatriate 5,000 more. The protest of the Russian officers involved, who foresaw that they were being sent to certain death, reached the ears of the Allies. General Harries laid the matter before representatives of the German General Staff, and by his strong attitude he was instrumental in having the order revoked.

On hearing of this a delegation of the Russian officers waited on General Harries and, with tears in their eyes, assured him that he had saved their lives. The spokesman of the delegation, General Potocki, stepped up to Harries and pinned on his breast a little medal square of the Order of St. George, bearing the Roman numerals XL, signifying forty years of service performed by his father in the Russian Army.

When General Harries asked if he was

authorized to wear the order, General Pershing replied with an emphatic yes, and added, "I wish I could wear it. You did the right thing." General Harries was a retired Major General when the entrance of the United States into the war occurred, and he won a high reputation for his work in his difficult position at Berlin.

* * *

AMERICAN BELGIAN RELIEF WORK ENDED

THE Rotterdam headquarters of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium and France, which played such an important rôle during the whole war, finally ceased its work on Aug. 16, thus ending one phase of the war.

In four and a half years the relief commission sent over 3,000,000 tons of foodstuffs and over 9,000 tons of clothes to Belgium alone, and, roughly, 1,000,000 tons of foodstuffs to Northern France. Since the armistice large shipments have been made to Germany, Finland, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, partly through the Food Administration. Eight hundred and ninety-six transatlantic steamers were dealt with at Rotterdam, and over 10,000 lighters for the transportation of food from Rotterdam to Belgium and Northern France during the war.

Walter Brown of Los Angeles, who was in charge of the commission throughout the war period, was an indefatigable worker, meeting all emergencies with true American initiative. The work was in a constant state of flux, almost each day bringing some new development of the war necessitating a change. Mr. Brown at the date mentioned was about to leave for London in order to take charge of Mr. Hoover's "child's welfare" for feeding the underfed children of Europe.

* * *

PRINCE OF WALES IN AMERICA

THE visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada caused widespread interest throughout the Dominion. He landed Aug. 12 at St. John's, N. F., and found himself at once the centre of enthusiastic greetings. The town was gay with flags and cheering throngs as the Prince came in on the Dragon, to which

ship of lesser tonnage he had been transferred from the great battleship *Renown*, on which he had crossed the ocean. The shrill screech of sirens and the booming of guns marked his arrival. Dressed in a naval uniform, the Prince, a slight figure moving briskly, inspected the Guard on landing. He was presented with an address of welcome from the town. At the Government House he heard further addresses and partook of an official luncheon. In the afternoon he drove out in a car through the hills and forests and enjoyed the natural beauties of the country. After spending the night at the Government House, he attended the annual regatta on the following day on Quidi Vidi Lake. Later he visited other cities and was received with similar honors. It was said that the Prince would visit the United States after the completion of an extensive Canadian tour.

* * *

NAVAL CENSORSHIP CLOSED

THE cable censorship exercised by the Navy Department during the war ceased at 6 o'clock on July 23. The New York office of the Navy Cable Censor at 20 Broad Street, which handled 85 per cent. of the cable correspondence between Europe and most of North America, closed its doors at that hour.

The large organization of the Navy Cable Censor was said to be the only military organization that actually made money for the Government. Herbert Hoover, Food Administrator, credited the office with breaking up a combine in an article needed in the preparation of food, thereby saving the Government \$14,000,000.

* * *

Y. M. C. A. EXPENSES IN WAR

DETAILED accounts of the receipts and expenditures of the Y. M. C. A., made public by the organization's National War Work Council Finance Committee, show that \$125,282,859 was received by it between April 26, 1917, and March 31, 1919. Total expenditures aggregated \$97,817,005 in that period, leaving a balance of \$27,465,854. This sum is estimated to be sufficient to carry on the work here and abroad until Dec. 31.

According to the figures, which appear over the signatures of George W. Perkins, Chairman of the committee; Cleveland H. Dodge, Treasurer of the War Work Council, and H. W. Wilmot, Controller, slightly more than 2 per cent. of the total funds controlled by the American people were expended for religious purposes in the United States and overseas. Approximately 80 per cent. was devoted to the purchase, transportation, and distribution of canteen supplies, and to entertainments, education, and athletic sports.

* * *

DAYLIGHT SAVING LAW REPEALED

PRESIDENT WILSON on Aug. 15 vetoed for the second time the measure intended to kill the daylight saving law. In a brief message he placed his action on the ground of the great economic advantages which the urban population of the United States had enjoyed because of it, and at the same time he appealed to the farmers to acquiesce in the continuance of the measure for the general good. On Aug. 19, however, the House passed the repeal over the President's veto by a vote of 223 to 101. The next day the Senate followed suit with a vote of 57 to 19. The opposition to the daylight saving law consisted chiefly of members from the agricultural sections of the country, irrespective of party lines. The law will pass out of existence when the clocks are turned back to normal in October.

* * *

NEW BRIDGE OVER THE MARNE

MAJOR GEN. ROBERT L. HOWZE on Aug. 10 laid the first stone of the new bridge which is to be constructed over the Marne River, funds for which were raised by the American Society for the Relief of Devastated France. The old bridge was blown up by the American 3d Division on the night of May 31-June 1, 1918, to stop the German thrust toward Paris. The impressive ceremony was attended by Brig. Gen. F. W. Sladen of the 5th Division and many other American officers; General Maigne of the French Army, local notabilities and the entire population of Château-Thierry.

AMONG THE NATIONS

Survey of Important Events and Developments in Both Hemispheres

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1919]

AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA

AFTER many false alarms and truces a definite treaty of peace was signed on Aug. 8 at Rawalpindi, British India, between an Afghan delegation, headed by Ali Ahmed and a British delegation headed by Sir Hamilton Grant, thus healing formally the rupture on the northwest frontier which had been going on ever since the murder of the Emir Habilullah Khan in February and the usurpation of the throne by his second son Amanullah.

According to the terms of the treaty the Afghans are to be placed on probation—they are to have six months in which to show their sincerity toward Great Britain. The leaders are not to be punished, and the only penalty is the abrogation of the former agreement by which the Emir received a subsidy and the retraction of the commercial agreement allowing arms to be imported from India. In signing the treaty Sir Hamilton warned the Afghan delegation against a renewal of racial, political, and religious intrigues.

Desultory fighting was continued down to the actual time of the signing, particularly by British raids beyond the Dorah and Khyber Passes, with small casualties, except Afghan surrenders, on either side. According to a Parliamentary paper, the British losses down to July 8 had been as follows: British Units—Killed or died of wounds, 36; wounded, 118; missing, none. Indian Units—Killed or died of wounds, 61; wounded, 252; missing, 3; thus giving a grand total of 470, with few additions in the succeeding month—the cheapest Afghan war Great Britain has ever conducted.

The Afghan peace delegation arrived in the British lines on July 24. The leader, to give him his full title, Sirdar

Ali Ahmed Khan, was a grandson of the Emir Dost Mahomed on his mother's side and a cousin of the present ruler; 36 years of age and a man of considerable influence with many official and unofficial friends in India, and was once sub-editor of the *Seraj-ul-Akhbar*, under the editorship of Muhammad Tarzi, now Foreign Minister. In addressing the delegation Sir Hamilton Grant characterized the war as "the most wanton, crazy, and meaningless war in history." The reply of Ali Ahmed was naïve. He said that the results of the great war had aroused the aspirations of all nations; that it was only through a combination of forces that Great Britain had been able to beat Germany; that such a combination was now open to Afghanistan, and the Indian Government must not suppose that the Afghans were a sleepy or ignorant people; they would stand as a barrier between Bolshevism and India; on the other hand, if the war were renewed, ending in a British victory of conquest, it would admit a flood of Bolshevism, under which Russia was already submerged; a just and honorable peace would check the flood as far as the Caspian.

While the negotiations were in progress news came to the Afghan delegation that the Emir had been twice fired on by his own troops and that he had frequently visited his elder brother, offering him all sorts of lucrative official posts if he would only acknowledge him as Emir—offers which Mayatulla Khan steadily declined.

During the debate in the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons on the Government of India bill, which aims to give local autonomy to the regions of India and a consultative privilege with the Viceroy's Government, a deputation of Indian women arrived in London and

presented an appeal to the Secretary of State for India, Edwin Samuel Montagu, asking for the ballot. The interview took place on Aug. 8, and among the petitioners, most of whom had made a name for themselves in art and literature, and were dressed in gorgeous Oriental costumes, were the poet Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the orator Mrs. Sen, and the author Mrs. Debant.

Mr. Montagu expressed sympathy with their cause, but made no definite promise.

THE BALKANS

Three events since July 15 have had a powerful influence on Balkan opinion and have caused the propagandists, both official and unofficial, to mark time before advancing further claims to frontier expansion—the occupation of Budapest by the Rumanian Army on Aug. 4, elsewhere described, with the attendant friction between the Peace Conference and Bucharest; the news on Aug. 8 of the partition of Thrace by the conference, and the complete terms of the Austrian treaty which were handed to Dr. Renner, head of the Austrian delegation at Paris, by M. Dutasta, Secretary of the conference, on July 20.

The partition of Thrace with its outlook on the Aegean Sea directly concerns the littoral of Bulgaria, with ethnic concessions to Greece and the establishment of two free States on the site of the old vilayets of Adrianople and Constantinople. Although the boundaries of Jugoslavia, (the monarchy of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes,) Bulgaria, and Rumania cannot be definitely disposed of until the case of Hungary is settled, nevertheless Part VIII. of the treaty, which covers "reparation," is of great economic importance to both Serbia and Rumania on account of the live stock which Austria must turn over to these countries within three months after the signing of the treaty.

Modern Thrace, like modern Macedonia, is a mere geographical expression, not yet (Aug. 15) publicly specifically defined by the Peace Conference. It was announced Aug. 8 that there were to be an Eastern and Western Thrace; the former divided into three parts,

Greece getting two, and a third designated as part of the future free State of Constantinople; of Western Thrace a quarter was to go to Greece and three-quarters to constitute a free State established by the League of Nations.

In the days of ancient Greece Thrace included that part of the peninsula lying to the northeast of Macedonia, extending indefinitely north and as far east as the Black or Euxine Sea, and bounded on the south by the Sea of Marmora, or Propontis, and the Aegean Sea. The Roman province of Thrace extended only as far as the Balkan or Haemus Mountains, while the region between the mountains and the Danube was included in Moesia. By the modern Turks Thrace is carelessly referred to as "Rumili."

By the Treaty of Bucharest, which closed the second Balkan war in 1913, the Aegean littoral as far east as the Mesta went to Greece; thence for about eighty miles, to the Maritza, Bulgaria had a seaboard. According to the new partition, the rich tobacco lands of the Kavala region may go to Greece or to the League of Nations' new State, while the great potential economic wealth of the Dedeaghat Railway and Maritza system of traffic which pierces the Orient Railway (the Belgrade-Constantinople line) at the City of Adrianople may still go to Greece or to the future free State of Constantinople. The Treaty of Bucharest left about 70,000 Bulgars under Greek control and about 60,000 Greeks in the Bulgar littoral.

Bulgaria would have been left by the new partition entirely shut out from the Aegean Sea. Reports that the American delegates were opposed to this were first cabled on July 22; on Aug. 13 it was reported that the Supreme Council, following the suggestion of Captain André Tardieu of the French delegation, felt disposed to give Bulgaria access to the Aegean Sea through either Dedeaghat or Kavala.

BULGARIA—According to the Rumanian Bureau at Berne, as a result of an attack upon a disembarking French regiment at Lorn Palanka by Bulgar troops another French regiment disarmed the garrison at Sofia, the capital. It was reported in the Sofia press late in July

that when President Wilson departed from Paris on June 28 he left instructions for Henry White and his American colleagues not only to participate in the negotiations with Bulgaria and Turkey, with neither of which the United States was at war, but also to sign both treaties. Various stories were also printed alleging that in the secret negotiations which took place in December, 1917, in Switzerland, after the failure of the Pope's note in the preceding August, Bulgaria had joined with Austria-Hungary in seeking a separate peace and that all was going well when the German Kaiser ordered Emperor Charles to repudiate the steps taken, and that before this repudiation Premier Radoslavoff had actually reached the ear of the American Government through the Bulgar Minister at Washington.

While German agents in Bulgaria were reporting to Berlin the spread of Bolshevik propaganda in that country the press of Sofia gave no sign—did not even report a demonstration in favor of a Soviet Government, which Berlin reported as having taken place there on July 25. It did, however, publish extracts from the report of the German-Bulgarian Company to the effect that the French were blocking the efforts of Bulgarian merchants to resume trade with Central Europe, and that in spite of the lifting of the embargo foreign trade was still dead, except where it was being revived from the south by Entente shipments via the Greek ports.

GREECE—Bolshevism made its appearance in Greece, taking palpable form by demonstrations in Athens and meetings of guilds and unions under the auspices of the new Labor Confederation on July 15. The Government acted at once and expelled five members of the Executive Committee of the federation. The federation complained to M. Venizelos, the Premier, who was in Paris. On July 25 the Athens press published his reply. It read:

Do not, I beg of you, become the tools of the foolish fellows, who are not striving for the working man's interest. In present circumstances, your advisers who incite you to class strife are not only enemies of our common country, which seems no longer to constitute a grave

charge against them, but enemies of the proletariat everywhere.

According to the Embros and Eleftheros Typos, if the Peace Conference rejects the Greek claim to the Thracian littoral and Bulgaria receives an outlet on the Aegean Sea there, then M. Venizelos should secure for his country mandatory powers over the free State on the Marmora, which will practically cover the old vilayet and city of Constantinople. Among other reasons advanced in support of this claim is the preponderance of Greeks and Christians in the vilayet—200,000 Orthodox Greeks with 150,000 Moslem Greeks and 500,000 Christians with 50,000 Jews, as against 284,910 Moslems, including less than 100,000 Turks. Reports received at Athens from M. Ghotzis, Governor of Eastern Macedonia, were to the effect that this garden spot of New Greece, despite the devastation wrought by three wars, was rapidly recovering, but that the crying need was for agricultural animals and implements; that all friction had subsided between the Greeks and Bulgar elements unless renewed by agitators from Sofia in isolated places.

The Journal of Hellas gave publicity and support to a movement inaugurated by the Metropolitan of Athens, Mgr. Meletios, for the revival of ancient Greek literature at home and the spread of modern Greek literature abroad. A new edition of the works of Baby Anninos in honor of his fiftieth anniversary was printed and sent abroad, and will be followed by special editions of other moderns. Anninos still lives at 18 Zochou Pighis Street, Athens.

SERBIA—A mission recently sent out from Belgrade to visit and report on the conditions in Croatia and Slavonia denied the Rome and Budapest stories that there was friction between the Serbian and Croatian troops, and that the people are enthusiastic for the new monarchy of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, although it was advised that an equitable form of local autonomy be arranged at once, as should be done in Montenegro.

The American Serbian Relief Mission, consisting of doctors, nurses, and hygiene organizers, under Major W. H. Cressy, which sailed from New York on the

Presedente Wilson, July 26, arrived at Patros and proceeded to Nish, via Athens, bringing several tons of supplies. Its principal object is to care for the Serbian orphans now herded in the vicinity of Nish and teach the older ones how to care for the younger.

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

On July 29 the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies advised the ratification of the Peace Treaty with Germany, and on Aug. 8 the Chamber ratified the treaty, together with the Franco-Anglo-American military convention; thus the questions of Belgian jurisdiction to the Prussian hinterland were settled, while the economic claims in which Holland is concerned reverted to the revision of the treaty of 1839, the Belgian scheme for which was placed before the Commission of Fourteen at Paris on Aug. 4. Belgium in her statement asked for guarantees for her defense on the Meuse and the Scheldt Rivers, instead of on the Yser, and that Limburg be made a defensive outpost under the League of Nations.

On Aug. 13 a Belgian detachment, consisting of carabineers and cavalry, occupied the Malmedy district of Rhenish Prussia, not in accordance with the terms of the Germany Peace Treaty, but because on July 28 the British troops were ordered to withdraw from the district, and Marshal Foch had directed that it should be placed under the control of the Belgian military authorities.

In Brussels it was regarded as a certainty that the Anglo-Belgian agreement in regard to former German East Africa would be ratified by the Supreme Interallied Council. By the terms of this agreement Belgium obtains the Provinces of Ruanda and Urundi, situated in the northwest of the colony, containing about half of the entire colony's population of 6,000,000 and practically half of its entire horned live stock, but in area it is less than one-tenth of the whole.

The Labor Party in Belgium began an educational campaign on Aug. 13 by issuing a manifesto showing how the high cost of living could be reduced by a more economic home life, by Government requi-

sition of wheat, sugar, milk, and butter, and Government control of prices for coal, clothing, and shoes. An international coin was also proposed. On Aug. 8 the Government decided to accelerate the restoration of the devastated regions by taking over the farms there from their owners and working land in the most approved scientific way, meanwhile paying the owners 5 per cent. interest on the pre-war valuation until the farms should revert to them in first-class condition.

The Dutch Government bill for a 45-hour week passed the Legislative or Second Chamber of the States General by a vote of 69 to 3. In factories, workshops, and offices there are to be five days of eight hours' work and one of five, but dock labor, although fixed at this weekly maximum, is to be arranged according to the exigencies of the work and season. For farm labor there is to be an eight-hour day in Winter, a ten-hour day in Summer, and a twelve-hour day during harvest weeks. The bill aims at securing for all workers an uninterrupted thirty-six hours rest every week, and Sunday labor is only to be permitted by order of the Government. The employment of children below the age of 13 is prohibited in the bill as it passed the Senate Chamber.

EGYPT

According to dispatches from General E. H. H. Allenby, the military representative of the British Government in Egypt, read in the House of Commons on July 24 by Cecil Harmsworth, Under Secretary of the Foreign Office, 800 natives had been killed and 1,600 wounded during the Nationalist disturbances in Egypt in March and April; the casualties to European and other civilians were 31 killed and 35 wounded, and the soldiers lost 29 killed and 114 wounded. More than 2,000 native delinquents had been sentenced, including 39 to death and 27 to life imprisonment.

As a demonstration against militant nationalism, but more as a sign of loyalty to the British Empire, about twenty Sudan chiefs visited London, and on July 28 were received by King George and Queen Mary at Buckingham Palace. Lord Cromer, former British represen-

tative in Egypt, acted as cicerone, and Sir Reginald Wingate, the High Commissioner in Egypt, as interpreter. The address of the chiefs, which was in Arabic, first congratulated his Majesty on the victory of the Allies, then expressed loyalty to the empire and gratitude for what the empire had done for Upper Egypt. Sir Sayed Ali El Morghani was the spokesman and he ended with the words:

Further, I beg leave to tell your Majesty that what the Sudan has done is but the first fruits of what your Majesty's Government has planted there. It is simply the harvest of your good deeds and a token of our gratitude. It is justice which has combined all the different parts of your great empire, and justice which is the foundation of your kingdom. In congratulating your Majesty we congratulate our own country and our own people.

The spirit of peace and justice which has prevailed through the Sudan during all these years, as well as the interest which your Majesty's Government has taken in advancing it, the sacrifices which have been made to improve its material and moral condition, and the inclusion of the people of the Sudan among the subjects of the British Empire, have filled our hearts with pride, loyalty, and love to your Majesty, and we fully appreciate that the future advancement of the Sudan depends on its increasingly close connection with your Majesty's empire.

FRANCE

Although trial by the Senatorial High Court of Justice was recommended for Joseph Caillaux, the former Premier, by Théodore Lescouvre, Attorney General of the French Republic, on July 31, doubt was expressed in French legal circles whether the evidence obtained by the Commission of Inquiry, on which the Attorney General had based his opinion, was sufficient to influence the Commission of the Senatorial High Court to order the trial. Caillaux is charged with treasonable dealings with the enemy; his investigation has been going on for a year and a half. Evidence placed before the Commission of Inquiry tended to establish the fact that he had worked to overthrow the Government and bring about peace with Germany. He admitted this, but defended himself on the ground that he did so as a French statesman and patriot and for the good of his country,

and so should not be judged by the standard of the common citizen.

The Government announced on July 25 that the general elections of Deputies, under the new election law, would take place on Oct. 12 with municipal elections beginning Oct. 19 and Senatorial elections on Nov. 23. The dominant party in France is the Radical Socialist, which, in spite of its name, has no affiliation with Socialists per se. It was formed a quarter of a century ago for the purpose of righting the Clericals and reactionary Monarchists, whose combined policy found expression in the Dreyfus case. In the campaign to bring about revision of this famous case, it frequently had the support of the Parliamentary Socialists under the late Jean Jaurès, and so became known as the Radical Socialist faction, the term simply meaning Progressive Republicanism with Parliamentary Socialist support.

Since July 15 the Chamber has twice given the Clemenceau Government a two-thirds support on votes of confidence, which was of great benefit to MM. Klotz, the Finance Minister, and Noulens, the Food Minister, in putting their respective programs on a working basis. On July 20, however, M. Noulens's predecessor, M. Boret, had been obliged to retire on account of an adverse vote. M. Noulens, who entered the Chamber in 1902, is an energetic worker, with a practical and scientific knowledge of political economy. He was Minister of War in the Doumergue Cabinet of 1910, and Minister of Finance under M. Viviani when the war began, a portfolio he presently relinquished to the veteran Ribot. After a short tenure as Colonial Minister in 1917 he went to Petrograd as Ambassador, and returned as a propagandist for the recognition and support of Kerensky and the independence of Poland. The general outline of his program as Food Minister is to serve the public at the expense of special interests, and to force down the price of food by increasing production and prohibiting storing. By Aug. 9 his campaign against the profiteers was well under way through the application of old laws which he found sufficient. He has said: "An aroused

public opinion is the best guarantee of the enforcement of laws; new laws divide public opinion."

On July 30 M. Klotz concluded negotiations with a group of American bankers for the sale of \$50,000,000 in French Government bonds in the United States.

During the war little attention was given to keeping the pavements of the Paris streets in good condition; now that the question of an entire repaving has come up, there are many difficulties. Most of the streets were paved with wood, some with stone, and a few with asphalt. It was found that wood survived the others, but the forests which once furnished the wooden blocks are no longer available in their former extent, hence the problem. Engineers have said that it will take, in any event, five years to place the streets of Paris in a normal condition.

On July 21 former Premier Viviani, as President of the Parliamentary Commission of Peace, announced in the Chamber that the foe's damage to France had amounted to \$40,000,000,000, including the damage to agriculture of \$7,400,000,000, and the \$23,800,000,000 damage done in the invaded regions to buildings, public ways, and machinery.

On the initiative of the Ministers of Education and Commerce an optical institute was founded in order to advance the interests of the French glass industry. Like England and the United States, France had depended for optical glass on Germany, and when the war began production in these countries had to be enormously increased. In the allied countries the production in 1914 was only two tons per month; by 1918 it had risen to six tons. The optical institute will be located in Paris under the direction of Charles Fabry, Professor of Physics in the Science Faculty of Marseilles, and Colonel Devé. A Chair of Optics was also established at the Sorbonne, with M. Fabry as the first incumbent.

ITALY

Although the report of the Government Commission appointed to investigate the Caporetto disaster did not become public until Aug. 14, already by

July 20 the press was enabled to outline its main features and to discuss them in such a manner as to throw into the shade the domestic conflicts over the adjustment of wages to living and Fiume controversy, thus measurably aiding Premier Nitti in presenting his various programs almost without debate.

The Caporetto report attributes the Italian defeat to three sets of causes, which it exhaustively analyzes: The influence of defeatist propaganda carried on by the enemy and by certain Socialist and Clerical organizations, the political meddling with military plans, and, on the part of the military authorities, the underestimation of the enemy's forces and the lack of preparation and material.

In the third category General Cadorna, Chief of the General Staff; his lieutenant, the strategist General Porro, and General Capello, who commanded the Second Army fronting on the Monte Nero sector, which was completely annihilated, are chiefly blamed.

While the lips of the military men were sealed unless opened by legal proceedings, the press was not silent, and made revelations implicating British and French civil authorities for not giving the aid which had been promised by the military. It was charged that Lord Derby, the British Minister of War, resigned when he learned that the aid he had promised Cadorna was not to be sent—aid on which the Italians had depended to push their advance over the vitally exposed lines on the Bainsizza plateau, a manoeuvre, it was alleged, undertaken solely on the assurance of allied aid.

Signor Nitti, as both President of the Council and Minister of the Interior, dominated the situation in Parliament with the various policies for internal reconstruction—electoral reforms, including proportional representation and woman suffrage, a new tariff which should protect Italian specialties and let in foreign raw material and cheap foreign manufactured articles, and measures for credits abroad negotiated with foreign groups of bankers—while he voiced a foreign policy which should bring Italy into closer political and commercial rela-

tions with her allies. He even did not hesitate particularly to advocate this in a statement issued in the *Paris Matin* of July 29, demanding for Italy a place in the Franco-Anglo-American military alliance. Meanwhile, at Paris and at Rome, Signor Tittoni, as both head of the Italian peace delegation and Foreign Minister, advanced far toward allaying the Fiume irritation.

The three causes for the shutting down of the factories in the great metallurgic centre of Italy remained—the lack of raw material, the reduction of transportation facilities, and the refusal of the employers to treat with the workmen's organizations with cumulative and constantly augmenting grievances. Nevertheless, the advance of public reconstructive work was immense, particularly in regard to the Pugliese Aqueduct, which when completed will have cost the State \$60,000,000. With about 900 miles of branches spreading over the Province of Puglie, the main aqueduct runs from Naples to Taranto, a distance of 150 miles. The United States Trade Commissioner at Rome, M. J. Chiesa, had had an interview with Chief Engineer M. Maglietta, and forthwith reported to Washington as follows:

In my interview with him I obtained the following figures: Work completed to date—main aqueduct, 152 miles; branch aqueducts, 236 miles; piping for urban distribution, 112 miles. To be constructed—branch aqueducts, 621 miles; piping for urban distribution, 373 miles. Materials required—steel piping, 7,500 tons; cast-iron piping, 66,000 tons; iron rods for cement reinforcement, 9,000 tons; cement, 75,000 tons. Engineer Maglietta states that work will be commenced shortly and that orders for the required material have not yet been placed.

According to statistics published by *Il Secolo* of Milan on Aug. 4, Italy during 1918 had 200,000 deaths caused by Spanish influenza and pneumonia, averaging 60 per cent. more than the deaths caused by the entire war. The paper estimated that the deaths caused by these diseases throughout the world were double the military deaths in the war.

LATIN AMERICA

According to *La Nacion* of Buenos Aires of Aug. 5, a threatened rupture

of diplomatic relations between Argentina and Great Britain followed the purchase by the former of the German steamship *Bahia Blanca*, and the paper added that, on this account, Sir Reginald Tower had been recalled to London and Francisco Alvarez de Toledo to Buenos Aires. *El Diario* of Buenos Aires of Aug. 13 noted that Baron von dem Bussche Haddenhausen, former German Minister to Argentina, had arrived at the head of a German colonization society, and that already 29,640 acres had been purchased.

The new President of Brazil, Dr. Epitacio Pessoa, who was elected while serving with the Brazilian delegation at the Peace Conference, was inaugurated at Rio de Janeiro on July 28, and announced the following Ministry, which, for the first time since the establishment of the Republic, showed the appointment of civilians to military portfolios:

Interior — Senhor ALREDO PINTO, (Jurisconsult.)

Foreign Affairs — Senhor AZEVEDO MARQUES, (Professor of the Faculty of Law at Sao Paulo.)

Finance—Senhor HOMERO BAPTISTA, (at present President of the Bank of Brazil.)

Communications — Senhor PIRES DO RIO, (civil engineer.)

Agriculture—Senhor SIMOES LOPES, (a Deputy.)

Marine—Senhor RAUL SOARES, (at present Secretary for the Interior of the State of Minas Geraes.)

War—Senhor PANDIA CALOGERAS, (one of the Peace Delegates.)

Approximately five years after it was first submitted to the United States Senate by President Wilson the Colombian Treaty was unanimously reported to the Senate by the Foreign Relations Committee on July 29, still declaring that the American Government was to pay the Republic of Colombia \$25,000,000 for the injuries alleged to have been suffered by the secession of Panama and the building of the canal, but without the original "apology clause," admitting that the Administration then at Washington had acted wrongfully.

Advices to the State Department at Washington on Aug. 14 announced the flight of the unrecognized President of Costa Rica, Federico Tinoco; the assass-

sination of his brother Joaquin, Vice President and Minister of War, and the nomination of Julio Acosta as Provisional President, with Francisco Aguilar Barquero as Minister of the Interior, who would at once arrange to hold a general election.

The revolution continued in Honduras. On July 20 General Andreas Leiva, in command of the rebels on the Nicaraguan frontier, made a feint to invade the country, but was driven back by a concentration of the forces of the President, Dr. Bertrand. Simultaneous with this movement General Lopez Gutierrez raised the flag of revolution in the provinces of Graolas, Comayagua, and Choluteca, and the City of Intibuoa declared Dr. Bertrand to be an outlaw. For nearly fifty years Honduras had been swept by one revolution after another, due to the conflicting ambitions of the Liberal and Conservative leaders, and the vanquished party always took refuge in the neighboring countries of Guatemala, Nicaragua, or San Salvador. Then in 1911 the United States succeeded in effecting a compromise with Dr. Francesco Bertrand as President, and a Cabinet was formed of both factions. It was declared by La Nacion of Tegucigalpa as long ago as June that the coming elections, aided by German agents, who had been dispossessed by the Bertrand Government, would revive the old feuds between the political parties.

The quarrel of Chile and Peru over the provinces of Tacna and Arica, which are governed by Chile, but, according to the Treaty of Ancon, should have their adhesion decided by a plebiscite, was revived with an ecclesiastical background. Both provinces, however, continued under the bishopric of Arequipa, which is Peruvian. Recently Mgr. Lisson, Archbishop of Lima, visited the Pope and had a long conversation with his Holiness's Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, who is reported in Lima to have said to him: "I am of the opinion which I have expressed to several Chileans that if they did not intend to restore the captive provinces to Peru they should never have signed the Ancon Treaty, which they have not respected." On this statement

being published in Santiago de Chile, the Chilean Chancellery addressed a note to the South American Legation, saying that its Minister at the Vatican had declared by cable that Cardinal Gasparri had never made any such statement to Mgr. Lisson. China was the first Government to recognize the new revolutionary Provisional President of Peru, by directing its Minister at Lima, Chin Lin Woo, to address a note to that effect to Dr. Don Meliton F. Porras, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs under President Leguia. Meanwhile, President Leguia promulgated his scheme for the reform of the Constitution. The preamble provided for the general election of a National Assembly, which should convene in September, and for the first month, as a Constituent Assembly, concern itself with the reform of the Constitution, the principal features of which follow:

A complete renewal of the legislative power every five years, coinciding with the renewal of the executive power. Congress to be composed of thirty-five Senators and 110 Deputies. Congress can only elect a President in case of death; otherwise the President must be elected by direct vote of the people. No Congressman can hold any other public office. No individual can draw more than one salary or emolument from the State.

The judiciary will be placed on a strictly civil service basis. A progressive income tax is to be established. Enforced arbitration in all labor disputes. Fiduciary money can be created only in case of war.

Three regional Legislatures are to be established in Northern, Central, and Southern Peru, with capitals at Trujillo, Huancayo, and Arequipa, respectively. They will sit thirty days annually, and be empowered to pass local legislation, subject to revision by the Central Congress at Lima.

The Council of State will be composed of six members, to be elected by the Ministers of State, subject to the Senate's approval. The law will establish the conditions in which the Government must consult this council, and in which the Government cannot proceed against a decision of the council.

PERSIA

After negotiations lasting nine months the British Government announced its new agreement with Persia on Aug. 15. Some of the provisions stipulated that Great Britain was to back Persia in re-

alizing unsatisfied claims, among which were those lodged with the Peace Conference for material damage done during the war.

The first article of the agreement pledges Great Britain to respect absolutely the territorial integrity and independence of Persia.

Persia, by the terms of the agreement, will establish a uniformed force in which will be incorporated the various existing armed bodies. This force will be put under the instruction of British officers.

Great Britain will advance Persia \$10,000,000 to enable her to initiate certain contemplated reforms with the help of a British financial adviser. Persian customs receipts will be security for the loan.

It was announced that the Persian treaty was displeasing to France and likewise was not acceptable to Prince Feisal of the new Arabian State. It was declared to be tantamount to a British protectorate over Persia.

PORTUGAL

On Aug. 5 Antonio Almeida, former Premier and Minister of Colonies, was elected President of Portugal by Parliament on the third ballot. The vote was 123 for Senhor Almeida, 31 for other candidates, with 13 not voting. The inauguration was to take place Oct. 5.

The *Diarro de Noticias* of Lisbon published a series of articles, asserting the value of the Portuguese colonies in Africa and urging the Government to seek foreign financial aid in order to develop them, particularly from Great Britain, whose tenure of her African possessions was partly due to her alliance with Portugal.

The Merchants' and Commerce Association of Lisbon passed a resolution calling upon the Government to act energetically in "putting an end to the system of violent acts practiced by a tiny minority of individuals who pretend to form part of the proletariat, but in reality dishonor it and proclaim a doctrine of robbery and murder, which, if successful, would constitute the greatest tyranny in history."

SPAIN

Antonio Maura having resigned in the third week in July and being unable to form a new Ministry, a caucus was held on July 19 by the Liberal and Conservative elements, which resulted in the following Cabinet, with Señor Sanchez as President of the Council:

Foreign Affairs—Señor LEMA.
Justice—Señor PASCUAL Y AMAT.
Finance—Señor BUGALLAL.
Interior—Señor BURGOS.
War—General TOVAR.
Marine—Admiral FLOREZ.
Public Works—Señor CALDERON.
Instruction—Señor PRADO Y PALACIOS.
Food—Señor MOCHALES.

The new Ministry represented the Dato faction more than anything else; indeed, Señor Dato was asked to form a Ministry, but declined on account of ill-health. Señor Toca, once Minister of Justice, had been President of the Senate since 1915. In the new Cabinet, the Marquis Lema was once Foreign Minister in a Dato Government and then nicknamed "Lord Lema" by the Germanophobes. Other lieutenants of Dato in the Cabinet are Burgos, Florez, and Bugallal. Amat, Calderon, Palacios, and the Marquis Mochales hold portfolios for the first time, but have occupied other high administrative posts previously.

The Government gained a victory by the election of Sanchez Guerra as President of the Chamber on July 28, by a vote of 182 to 107, but the Maura and La Cierva factions united in order to oppose the new budget and the Government policy in Morocco, where severe casualties were suffered by the Spanish soldiers at the hands of Raisuli, in an attack upon the Spanish fortified camp at Ergaya.

TURKEY AND THE LEVANT

Somehow the news that the Peace Conference, first intimated in Paris on Aug. 8, was going to partition Thrace and turn Constantinople into a free State, reached the Sultan's capital on July 23, the national holiday in honor of the establishment of the Constitution. A manifesto calling upon the Sultan to oust Damad Ferid Pasha from the Grand Vizierate

for his failure at Paris was issued anonymously by Young Turk secret societies, but was suppressed by the censor. The Grand Vizier and his colleagues had already reached Constantinople on three French torpedo boats July 18, and had been welcomed by an editorial article in the *Sabah* freeing them from all blame. But the subsequent news about the partition of Thrace created consternation in all political groups and caused an augmenting cohesion in the ranks of the Young Turks.

The Government ordered the arrest of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and Reouf Bey, charged with organizing armed bands respectively in the Erzerum and Smyrna regions. Halil Pasha, former Minister of Marine and uncle of Enver Pasha, escaped from the capital with Kritcheik Talaat and joined Mustafa at Erzerum. What was going on at that place filled Armenian circles with apprehension; the Armenian Government cabled the British Government to allow the British military forces to remain in Transcaucasia, and asked the American Ambassador at Paris to have Major Gen. Harbord, head of the Interallied Mission to Armenia, hasten his arrival.

The *Ikdam* newspaper of Constantinople on July 15 had a leading article favoring the Italian claims in Anatolia, citing the Italo-Turkish Treaty of 1913, the Treaty of London of 1915, and the Treaty of St. Jean de Maurienne of 1917 in support of an Italian mandate particularly to the littoral of Marmoris or Mafia, and the vilayets of Konja and Aidin, including the town of Smyrna, which had been placed by the conference under Greek jurisdiction. As to Turkey's future, the article concludes:

In these circumstances, we must await with the greatest tension the decisions of the Peace Conference. Our territorial and ethnic entity is at stake. Just now we can discover only four possible steps which a future Government may take:

1. The maintenance of Ottoman sovereignty in those territories inhabited by a Turkish majority, by means of a strict control by the powers of the Entente.
2. The granting of a mandate for Constantinople to one single power.
3. The granting of a mandate to a condominium—that is to say, to a group of powers enjoying equal rights.

4. The division of the Ottoman Empire into different zones, the mandates being confined, respectively, to different great powers.

This last solution of all will be the most bitter and crushing for Turkey.

It was understood in Constantinople on July 23 that the report of the American Commission to Syria and Palestine favored a British rather than a French mandate for the former, and that the inhabitants of both regions, failing to attain independence, desire union and one mandatory power, the Moslems preferring the British and the Christians the United States, except those of the Greek Church, who asked for France.

THE UNITED KINGDOM

The German Peace Treaty, together with the Anglo-French treaty, having passed through three "readings" in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, received the royal assent on July 31 and thus became a part of the British Constitution.

In the House of Commons, on July 31, J. Austen Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced that from April 1 to July 26 the average daily expenditure of the country had been \$21,870,000; on Aug. 12, after a series of criticisms for extravagance had been launched against the Government, Winston Churchill, the Secretary of State for War, in defending the Government's policy in the House, promised a considerable, although indefinite, reduction in armament bills.

The United Kingdom, like the United States, passed through various stages of economic evolution aiming to establish a post-bellum equilibrium between labor and capital, with the Government as arbitrator or as advocate on the side of public welfare. A Government bill was made public on Aug. 6 providing for prosecutions and penalties for persons found guilty of profiteering; it empowered the Board of Trade to designate "reasonable prices," to investigate where it was charged these prices were not observed, and to take proceedings against offenders before a court of summary jurisdiction where maximum sentences would be \$1,000 fine or six months' imprisonment.

Strikes in the United Kingdom pre-

sented the same general characteristics that they did here—a rising scale of demands for wages and shorter hours following each settlement, with sympathetic strikes in co-related industries. Up to Aug. 10, the 200,000 striking Yorkshire miners had spent \$1,250,000 in strike pay and were reported to have funds for only two weeks more.

After an investigation of several months by the Home Office with the aid of Scotland Yard, a police raid in a London western suburb on Aug. 11 revealed documents showing that a revolution was contemplated on the part of the organizations raided to seize military stores and, by them, to establish a Soviet Government in London.

As far back as last Autumn Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, and M. Milukoff, late of

the Russian Provisional Government, had warned the British authorities that the trade unions were honeycombed with small active groups organized on the Bolshevik principle; by April these groups had become powerful enough and numerous enough to organize the National Workers' Committee in the London Labor Party Conference, held at Southport on June 27, to carry a resolution for "direct action" by a vote of 1,893,000 to 935,000. Ramifications of the National Workers' Committee in London under police surveillance were the offices of the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Central Labor College, and the Plebes' League, all minor councils organized as Soviets. The places raided and the persons implicated on Aug. 11 were not announced by cable.

Strained Relations With Mexico

Bandits Hold American Aviators for Ransom—United States Forces Cross the Border in Pursuit

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 20, 1919]

THE relations of the United States with Mexico seemed to be rapidly approaching a crisis in July and August. Conditions in revolution-racked Mexico had reached practically a state of chaos. Rebel forces were dominating more than half the country, and Carranza, with barely 60,000 troops, was clinging with difficulty to the semblance of control over the rest, but was too weak to keep order; bandits harassed the whole country.

Against Carranza's own Federal forces the following factions are warring:

1. The rebel forces led by Felipe Angeles, Francisco Villa, Guillermo Meixuerio, a full-blooded Zapotec Indian, and by many well-informed observers considered the ablest and most trustworthy leader in Mexico; Felix Diaz, Manuel Palaez, who dominates the Tampico and adjacent oil fields; the Zapatistas, still a power in that part of Mexico of which the State of Morelos

is the centre; General Cantu, Governor of the State of Lower California, and the organized Yaqui Indian forces of the western part of the border State of Sonora.

2. The bandits who, in small groups, are operating everywhere in Mexico.

THE CORRELL MURDER

The situation between Mexico and the United States became acute about July 1, owing to the fact that John W. Correll, an American citizen, had been murdered on June 16 at his home in Colonia, Mexico, while attempting to protect his wife, who was ravished. The assailants were members of the rebel force operating in that vicinity. This murder was one of several atrocities reported from the Tampico region after Mexico had given official assurances that the lives and property of Americans would be respected.

On hearing of the Correll atrocity the

United States Government demanded that Mexico punish the malefactors. On the same day Senator King, Democrat, of Utah offered a resolution in the Senate calling on the Foreign Relations Committee to conduct an investigation to determine the extent of the property losses and to ascertain the number of Americans killed and wounded in Mexico. A conservative estimate of the property losses alone, made by the former American Vice Consul at Monterey, Mexico, totaled \$80,000,000 out of \$650,000,000 of American investments.

The Mexican Ambassador, Ygnacio Bonillas, on July 14 defended the Carranza rule, denying that the latter had repudiated Mexico's debts, or that it had failed to protect the rights or lives of foreigners. Complete pacification of Mexico, he declared, could be attained if his country were allowed to purchase arms and munitions in the United States to put down the many uprisings. At almost the same time the officials of a land company in Sonora sent a protest to the State Department at Washington against an agrarian law proposed by the Carranza Government to allow the seizure of properties, even though in legal possession, on which millions of dollars had been invested in agricultural development.

An investigation was instituted by the House Rules Committee on July 21, at which Ambassador Fletcher and Mrs. Correll were heard as witnesses. The widow stated that she "brought with her the ghosts of 500 victims of Mexican murderers." Ambassador Fletcher subsequently promised that he would take the subject of these crimes up with President Wilson. On July 17 a long conference took place between the President and Under Secretary of State Frank L. Polk, in which the President was informed of the course of events in Mexico during his long absence at the Peace Conference. The following day the President sent a telegram to the Governor of Oklahoma in which he said that he was seeking to do everything possible with regard to "the tragic and terrible case of the treatment of Mr. and Mrs. Correll."

NEW OUTRAGES

Immediately thereafter news of yet another murder reached the Government, and on July 19 it was reported that armed Mexicans had fallen upon and robbed American sailors near Tampico, and had attacked the American flag. The State Department issued a formal statement of the outrage, and an American consular investigation was ordered. Carranza's assurances, meanwhile, that he would do all in his power to ferret out and punish the Correll malefactors, failed to relieve the tension between the two Governments. Texas, one of the Union States that had suffered most from Mexican guerrilla warfare, on July 21 sent a resolution to Washington calling on the President and Congress to put an end to this warfare, which had prevailed since 1875, and asking the Government, if it could not itself afford protection, to give Texas that liberty of action which it enjoyed prior to entering the Union.

Fresh reports of new depredations continued to come in, including the theft of \$10,000 from a Refining Company at Puerto Lobos. On July 22 the records of 217 murders of American citizens in Mexico were given to the House as occurring in the last eight years; none of the murderers had been punished, although the Ambassador had taken up fifty cases personally with Carranza. Meanwhile notes were sent by the Mexican Government declaring that the Tampico case was due to the negligence of the sailors themselves in not taking sufficient precautions to avoid attacks, and extenuating another murder as the result of the victim's own provocation; four of the Correll murderers, the Mexican report stated, had been shot, and the assassins of another, named Catron, were being pursued.

The State Department made no official comment on this note, but on July 25 issued a ban on arms for Mexico in a proclamation allowing export only by permit.

In the House on July 26 Representative Hudspeth, a Texas Democrat, demanded that the United States occupy Mexico with a military force; his call for

forceful pacification was greeted with cheers. Ambassador Fletcher next appealed to the Mexican legislators to join in the formulation of a policy to protect Americans. In answer to this Ygnacio Bonillas urged patience, asserting that Mexico had a stable Government and was protecting foreigners. In contradiction to this, one witness before the House Rules Committee declared that the Carranza soldiers themselves were the worst bandits of all, and that the Carranza leaders showed both pro-German and Bolshevik tendencies.

It was stated at the end of July that drastic notes from the Washington Government had failed to influence Carranza in his project of the confiscation of American property, especially oil wells, and that he was favoring Japanese investors. On Aug. 1 Carranza assailed the oil interests, and asserted that they were trying to embroil the United States with Mexico; his Government, he said, was not hostile to the petroleum interests, or to any other form of foreign investment, but demanded that such interests conform to Mexican laws.

On Aug. 8 the United States Senate adopted a resolution directing the Foreign Relations Committee to make a complete investigation of the Mexican situation, with a sub-committee authorized to subpoena witnesses and documents and to suggest a solution.

"RADICAL CHANGE OF POLICY"

The State Department at Washington on Aug. 14 informed the Mexican Government that, unless the latter took immediate steps to put a stop to the murder of American citizens in Mexico, it would be compelled "to adopt a radical change in its policy." The United States military forces mobilized on the Mexican border numbered 60,000. Private letters from Mexico declared that the educated classes would welcome intervention. On Aug. 15 the last British diplomatic agent, William Cummings, was expelled from the country, Great Britain having declined to recognize the Carranza Government.

According to *El Dia Español* of Mexico City, Carranza officials were rounding up all foreigners and expelling them

from the country, principally Americans, Spaniards, Cubans, and Argentineans. Several mutinies were put down among Federal garrisons, with summary executions following. Anti-Carranza plots, with similar results, were also reported in certain Governmental bureaus.

OFFICERS HELD FOR RANSOM

On Aug. 18 a new crisis arose over the capture by a band of Mexican brigands near the border of two American Army aviators, Lieutenant Davis and Lieutenant Peterson, who had been forced to land on account of engine trouble. The bandits held the two officers for ransom and notified their friends that, unless \$15,000 gold was paid to the bandits, both officers would be killed. The United States authorities took immediate steps to protect the officers and made very urgent protests to the Mexican Government.

Army officials, acting on instructions, at once took steps to send the money in gold coin to Marfa, Texas, to save the lives of the aviators. On Aug. 19 Captain Matlock of the 8th Cavalry brought back the two prisoners—and half of the ransom money. His story was dramatic. The bandits had insisted on the delivery being made after dark, so that flares could be seen. After midnight the go-between crossed to San Antonio, Chihuahua, and found the cottonwood tree indicated as the rendezvous. He returned after half an hour with Lieutenant Peterson and went back after the other prisoner. After getting Lieutenant Davis on his horse he dug in his spurs and galloped away without paying the other half of the ransom.

Then followed an impromptu punitive expedition across the border. The 8th United States Cavalry, taking the two released prisoners as guides, started in pursuit of the bandits who had inflicted this outrage upon American Army aviators. The pursuit was still in progress when this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* went to press on Aug. 20. The episode had called forth a stern protest to the Carranza Government from the Washington authorities, and a general demand for intervention was being voiced throughout the United States.

Germany Under a New Constitution

Instrument Placing the Empire Under Republican Institutions Adopted—Internal Controversies

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1919]

THE month in Germany was notable chiefly for the adoption of a republican Constitution by the National Assembly at Weimar and for the controversy that raged around the so-called Erzberger revelations, against which high political and military officials of the former imperial régime strove to shift blame for culpable acts during the war from one to another, and the reactionaries sought for any loophole therein to damage the Government. Other features were the rejection by the National Assembly on July 18 of a Socialist motion demanding the complete separation of Church and State, and the passing of a bill creating a State tribunal to inquire into and fix the responsibility for the war. A still serious food shortage and lack of employment were held to be responsible for strikes and rioting in several places.

The National Assembly's final approval of the new German Constitution by a vote of 262 to 76, after months of debate, took place on July 31.

The preamble of the new charter of German freedom declares that "The German people, united in its branches and inspired by the will to renew and strengthen its realm in freedom and justice, to further inner and outer peace and social advance, has voted this Constitution." The document is divided into two parts—"The Composition and Ties of the Empire" and "The Basic Rights and Basic Duties of the Germans." The first part consists of seven sections and the second of five. Section 1 of the first part declares the German Empire to be a republican State, sovereignty being based on the people. It describes the territorial limits of the empire, establishes the imperial colors as being black, red, and gold, and states that the generally recognized rules of international law will be held as binding on the empire.

This section then proceeds to enumerate a long list of legislative rights reserved to the empire, within which individual States possess subordinate legislative rights.

The Constitution lays down rules for altering the empire territorially, and ordains that the President be elected by the entire German people every seven years. Elections to the National Assembly are to take place every four years. The Chancellor's position is analogous to that of Vice President, he and the rest of the Ministry being appointed by the President. The Chancellor will determine the empire's foreign policy and bear responsibility for the Cabinet. Provisions for the formation of the Imperial Council, a budget system of finance, the judiciary and other matters occupy the first part.

The second part declares that all Germans shall be equal before the law, and that all men and women shall have basically the same rights. Under the heading "Community of Life" it is established that "marriage constitutes the basis of family life and the salvation of the nation, and it is, therefore, under the special protection of the Constitution on the basis of the equality of the sexes." Included in the guaranteed rights of the German citizen are many provisions which would have seemed obvious outside Germany, such as the right to hold gatherings, to belong to societies and organizations, or social, political, and religious groups. It is declared that no State Church exists and religion plays no part in citizenship. The concluding part of the Constitution bears the title, "Transition Relations."

The new German Constitution was promulgated by President Ebert on Aug. 13. At the same time the President appointed Premier Bauer Imperial Chancellor and issued a decree that all mem-

bers of the defense forces immediately take the oath under the Constitution. On the 14th Herr Fehrenbach announced in the National Assembly that the Government had agreed unanimously that this body should retain its name of the Constituent German National Assembly. The rights and duties given to the Reichstag by the Constitution would be those of the Assembly.

THE ERZBERGER DISCLOSURES

Late in July the direct question of the Kaiser's extradition was shifted to a wider political controversy over events leading up to the war, efforts for peace especially in August, 1917, and responsibility for continuation of hostilities after Germany's military collapse was manifest to those in supreme authority. This presently developed charges and countercharges, and a stream of light was shed upon actions hitherto concealed from the people.

On July 25 Mathias Erzberger, Vice Premier and Minister of Finance, caused a sensation by addressing the National Assembly on the peace overtures which, he asserted, were made by Great Britain and France through the Vatican in August, 1917. Herr Erzberger stated that on Aug. 13, 1917, Mgr. Paccelli, Papal Nuncio at Munich, sent a note to Imperial Chancellor Michaelis, inclosing a telegram from the British Minister at the Vatican to the Papal Secretary of State, to which the French Government assented. The British telegram, according to Herr Erzberger, asked for a German declaration regarding Belgium and inquired what guarantee Germany would need for herself. Chancellor Michaelis did not answer this note for some weeks. Then, on Sept. 24, he wrote that the situation for giving such a declaration was not yet sufficiently clear.

Former Chancellor Michaelis thereupon made a labored defense of his actions in the *Tägliche Rundschau* of July 27. He asserted that upon his advice the Emperor called a Crown Council to discuss the peace overtures, and attributed the ultimate failure of his plans "to the fact that our enemies were unwilling." On July 28 the controversy

was taken up by Alexandre Ribot, French Premier and Foreign Minister at the time in question. He pronounced Erzberger's statement "a distortion of the truth," and proceeded to explain the facts from the French side, as follows:

Pope Benedict in August, 1917, suggested proposals to serve as a basis for overtures to Germany. France and Great Britain both decided to decline the proposals. The politest acknowledgment was made to the Pope, but nothing more.

The British Minister to the Vatican, in his own name, pointed out that the proposals did not contain sufficient guarantees for Belgium. Cardinal Gasparri, the Papal Secretary of State, seized upon this to telegraph Germany for explanations on the subject of Belgium. It was an attempt to start a conversation, but the British Government cut it off short and the British Minister went no further.

I simply said to the British Government, "Do not let yourself be involved in an indirect conversation like that," and that was the end of the matter.

PREMIER BAUER'S DISCLOSURES

On the same date Premier Bauer laid before the Chamber the declarations of former Chancellor Michaelis, Marshal von Hindenburg, and General Ludendorff. Before doing so he raised an opposition storm when he announced that "the former Emperor would certainly be brought to trial and proved guilty of many things." According to these declarations control of Belgium and possession of the City of Liège were determined by the German high command in 1917. Chancellor Michaelis drew up a tentative plan for peace negotiations, incorporating the demand for Liège and adjacent territory, together with the economic union of Belgium with Germany. The Chancellor, however, planned to hold Liège only provisionally, as a factor of security. Marshal von Hindenburg was opposed to giving up Liège. He would listen to no talk of indemnities, nor would he indicate Germany's intentions to the enemy. General Ludendorff was for keeping the entire Liège district in German hands. He advised strong military pressure, and the driving back of the British and French armies. Only thus, he contended, could Belgium become economically and intimately connected with Germany.

PLACING RESPONSIBILITY

In a debate in the National Assembly on the 29th, the opponents of Vice Premier Erzberger reproached him for having waited so long to make his disclosures, and accused the Socialists of being actuated by motives of revenge against certain persons. Amid noisy scenes Herr Erzberger maintained the necessity of establishing a State war guilt tribunal, because the nation was anxious to fix the responsibility for the origin, prolongation, and "amazing" termination of the war.

General Ludendorff wrote to the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* placing all responsibility for the Crown Council's decision in 1917 upon the former Emperor. General Ludendorff said that Great Headquarters merely sketched the military situation and stated what measures they believed necessary to protect Germany's west frontier in an economic way. He added that the former Emperor decided the question, and his decision was binding on military headquarters.

A Berlin dispatch of the 31st announced the publication by the Government at Weimar of a White Book. This volume contained 110 official documents relating to the negotiations from Aug. 13, 1918, to the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11. A statement of the former Austrian Emperor on Oct. 27, 1918, that he had reached an unalterable determination to sue for a separate peace within twenty-four hours was one of several interesting revelations in these pages. In commenting on the publication the *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag* described it as "only the last act of the tragedy, the catastrophe which could no longer be concealed. In contiguity the documents read like a terrible novel, like the story of an awful awakening from years of befogged delusions and unjustified optimism."

VON TIRPITZ PRESENTS ALIBI

The long-expected memoirs of Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, Minister of Marine, revealed the generally considered "father" of sea terrorism as a much misunderstood, indeed unjustly accused, person, according to a Berlin message of Aug. 5. Contrary to accepted belief, Ad-

miral Tirpitz asserted that instead of having inspired ruthless submarine warfare he was against it from the beginning, and it was decided upon even without his being called in consultation. Further, when he objected, the Emperor overrode his veto. In displaying his helpless lack of responsibility he argued he was a sort of outcast in the Cabinet, "unloved and unnoticed and ignored." He protested he had no power over events of the war, and quoted letters to show his humiliation because the Kaiser would not send the German fleet out to fight. "Germany," according to von Tirpitz, "drifted into the war through the incompetency of her diplomacy and because of the weakness and vacillation of Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg." He thought she lost the war for the same reason. In referring to the *Lusitania* disaster he said the ship was an auxiliary cruiser "heavily armed and loaded with munitions, and upon which certain American citizens took passage with wanton carelessness despite warning from our Ambassador at Washington."

HINDENBURG'S REVELATIONS

The Twentieth Century, a new publication, printed a letter by Field Marshal von Hindenburg to Prince Maximilian of Baden, dated Oct. 16, 1918, in which the writer sought to convince the last Imperial Chancellor that it was not Great Headquarters but Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg and the Foreign Office who thought so little of the prospects of President Wilson's peace mediation that the relentless U-boat war was permitted to cross all the President's reported efforts. On Dec. 12, 1916, von Hindenburg added, the Foreign Office notified Great Headquarters that it deliberately intended to cross the reported Wilson plan by itself making a peace offer. The note ran:

To avoid any interference by Wilson in peace negotiations we have decided to answer him in the sense of our own peace offer, which states, however, clearly that we desire direct connection with our opponents.

Von Hindenburg's comment was as follows:

Thus the Imperial Government rejected Wilson as mediator and on Jan. 7, 1917,

Instructed Bernstorff as follows: "American mediation in real peace negotiations is undesirable on account of German public opinion. If asked for our peace conditions, you will please give a dilatory answer." On Jan. 10 Bernstorff replied that relentless U-boat war would make all of Wilson's peace efforts invalid and that a rupture with the United States would be unavoidable. Nevertheless, on Jan. 16 Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg transmitted the imperial order for the relentless U-boat war, Bernstorff replying: "We take the risk of a rupture and possibly war with America."

Bernstorff, a few days later, made one last attempt to preserve peace, asking Dr. Bethmann Hollweg to postpone the U-boat war because Wilson had told him he hoped to find a peace basis of equality among all nations, which we Germans had proposed. The reply was that it was too late to recall the order, many U-boats having already started.

Neither myself nor Ludendorff can therefore be accused of having driven Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg to adopt a dubious policy toward the United States.

LETTER BY THE KAISER

Two imperial letters which cast light upon the immediate origin of the war were published in the *Deutsche Politik*. The first was from the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, written shortly after the murder at Serajevo, to Emperor William of Germany. Emperor Francis Joseph charged that the murder of his nephew was the direct result of agitation conducted by Russian and Serbian Pan-Slavists, whose sole object was the weakening of the Triple Alliance and the shattering of the Austrian Empire. He contended that the wire directing the plot ended at Belgrade, a situation which everlastingly imperiled his house and empire. The threatened danger of a Balkan Union under Russian direction and Rumania, nominally a member of the Triple Alliance, seeking closer relations with Serbia, moved the Austrian Emperor to urge taking Bulgaria into the Alliance, and the complete isolation of Serbia in the formation of a Balkan Union under the protectorate of the Triple Alliance. To this letter the German Emperor replied as follows:

The horrible crime of Serajevo has thrown a ghastly light upon the sinister machinations of mad fanatics and Pan-Slavistic agitation, imperiling the structure of the State.

I must not assume a definite attitude regarding the matter pending between your Government and Serbia. But I consider opposition to that propaganda of action, attacking the very life of the monarchy, not only the duty of all civilized States, but also a requirement of self-preservation.

I well see the serious dangers, caused by the agitation of Russian and Serbian Pan-Slavists, threatening your countries and, ultimately also, the Triple Alliance. To free the southern boundaries of your States from this heavy pressure I consider absolutely necessary.

Therefore, I am ready to assist your Government in its endeavors in seeking to prevent the formation of a new Balkan Union under Russian protectorate and offensively aimed at Austria-Hungary, and, furthermore, agree to advance as far as it is deemed advisable, the accession of Bulgaria to the Triple Alliance as a countermeasure.

Accordingly, although not without misgivings regarding the Bulgarian character, always unstable and shifting, I have ordered my Minister at Sofia to co-operate with your representative with the above mentioned end in view.

I have also instructed my representative at Bucharest to seek an audience with King Carol and to advise him of the necessity of Rumania assuming a more distant attitude toward Serbia, in view of the new situation brought about by the murder, and of suppressing the agitation aimed at your countries.

At the same time I instructed my representative to emphasize that I more than ever appreciate the alliance with Rumania.

In the event of Bulgaria joining the Triple Alliance these cordial relations of mutual trust will undergo no change. In conclusion I wish to express my sincere hope that you will recuperate at Ischl after these days of severe strain are over. In sincere attachment, your true friend,

WILHELM.

BERLIN'S GENERAL STRIKE

As for the nation's internal life, a state of public unsettlement rather than of revolt had supervened in Germany. The Berlin transportation strike dragged on contrary to the advice of the union leaders, but supported by Communists and Spartacans. A Coblenz dispatch of July 16 stated that a republic had been proclaimed in the small Rhenish principality of Birkenfeld. On the 18th the state of siege in Pomerania was raised following an immediate cessation of the general strike ordered by the labor leaders.

Berlin was at a standstill on the 21st. The Independent Socialists had so ordered, and the workmen had obeyed in mass. Trams and tubes stopped running that morning, electricity and gas were cut off, all factories were shut down, shops were closed, and the city looked like London on Sunday, but without its Sabbath peacefulness.

The tramping of armed troops, the roar of armored motor wagons, the occasional rattle and crash of rifle volleys and machine-gun fire—and not always blank fire, either—gave an added touch to remind one that one was in Berlin, not London. Barbed-wire entanglements and machine-gun emplacements were drawn across all the main streets.

The day's stoppage of work bore a political significance as a trial of strength between the Majority Socialists and the Independents. The Majority Socialists had withdrawn from the Executive Committee of the factory councils with the expressed intention of wrecking the unity of the workers' organization. They accompanied their action with a manifesto denouncing the Independents, and called upon the workers to repudiate and boycott them. This was followed up with a prohibition of the general strike ordered by the Independents. The prohibition was backed up by a stern edict issued by Minister of Defense Noske forbidding under martial law manifestations of any kind. Huge masses of troops were brought into the city and billeted overnight upon the population. But despite all these precautions Berlin had its general strike. The casualties reported were ten persons shot in disorders attending the breaking up of a Majority Socialist meeting by Communists and Independents.

DELUGE OF REFUGEES

A flood of refugees was returning to Germany, and border towns especially were suffering from a tremendous congestion and a housing shortage. While a steady stream of refugees was entering Germany on the east from the territories to be given to Poland, on the west occupied areas sent in a tide of immigrants. These, combined with civilian and military war prisoners and Germans expelled

or voluntarily coming home produced a situation which compelled the Government to provide for this class of travelers by an ordinance billeting them on the inhabitants of the congested towns.

The Government ordered a flag raising in Berlin to celebrate the adoption of the Constitution by the National Assembly at Weimar on July 31. It was the first time Berlin was officially flagged since the last military victory. The black, red, and gold banner prescribed by the new Constitution was hoisted on the Reichstag, the Chancellor's palace, and the Foreign Office, but it was found that not enough new flags had been manufactured to supply the occasion. Many public buildings, therefore, were forced to raise the old Prussian flag of the black eagle on a white ground with an iron cross in the upper corner, while the republican troops were entirely unsupplied with the new colors. It was remarked that no one seemed to care.

A Berlin dispatch of Aug. 3 stated that Dr. Max Levien, the Bavarian Communist leader, who had previously been reported arrested and executed, had been captured by Italian patrols in the Brenner Pass (Tyrol) while trying to escape into Italy. Another prominent Spartan leader, former Berlin Chief of Police Eichhorn, who had been a fugitive from justice for months, appeared suddenly in the National Assembly at Weimar on Aug. 7 to claim his seat as one of the Deputies from Berlin, since he had not been formally expelled.

A mutiny of troops and police at Posen on Aug. 7 was followed by a more serious outbreak at Chemnitz, southwest of Dresden, on Aug. 9. The Chemnitz riots were reported to have been due to food shortage. Spartan agitators persuaded a mob to storm the railway station. Government troops sent against it were overpowered and disarmed. Their horses were then slaughtered and the flesh distributed to the crowd. Subsequently the mob stormed the prison and released several Communists. Fifty persons were said to have been killed and many wounded in the disturbance.

A women's demonstration for the speedy return of German prisoners of war was held in Berlin on the 14th.

After the demonstrators had marched to the Chancellery, where some of the women proposed the organization of a crusade to cross the frontier and bring home the prisoners by force, the demonstrators were dispersed by the police.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRAM

President Ebert granted an interview to an American correspondent, Elias Tobenkin, in which he replied as follows to an inquiry as to whether he meant to socialize the industries of Germany in accordance with the dictates of theoretic socialism:

Our immediate problem in Germany is not the socialization of industry, but its restoration. We have a few industries

that have reached the size of a monopoly, mines and the like, and these we shall nationalize. But in the main the problem is not how to socialize the factories, but how to get them going once more; how to obtain the raw materials necessary to start the industries up. The next problem is to set the men to work once more in these factories.

The population has become unstrung and unsettled by the hardships of the war and the blockade. Work, regular employment and adequate living will bring their nerves around to normal again. Then, after production has once more been established and is running safely and profitably, the question of socialization will be timely. With our factories devoid of raw material and our workers idle, the question of the socialization of industry is academic and out of place.

Germany's New Volunteer Army

Plan of Minister Noske to Maintain a Larger Armed Force Than the Peace Treaty Allows

THE Treaty of Versailles provides in Articles 160 and 163 that within three months of its coming into force the effectives in the German Army must be reduced to 200,000, and after March 31, 1920, they must not exceed 100,000. After the armistice the Ebert Government, acting through War Minister Noske, lost no time in mustering out the old imperial armies of the Kaiser, which had become infected with Bolshevism and were unreliable under discipline of any kind. By the middle of the Summer of 1919 the old military establishment was practically out of existence, but as early as January Herr Noske had begun his labors to build up a great new volunteer force known as the Reichswehr, and by the beginning of August this already numbered more than 300,000 trained soldiers, each of whom had already seen at least six months' service. Thus early were the Allies confronted with the problem of preventing Germany from evading one of the most vital terms of the Peace Treaty.

Herr Noske's first task as Minister of National Defense had been to combat anarchy at home. As early as January

he had issued a whole series of decrees intended to check the pretensions of the Soldiers' Councils. A handful of young officers soon rallied around him and formed a nucleus about which gathered increasing numbers of officers and subalterns still obedient to discipline, and patriotic young men attracted by the offer of good pay (as high as 7 marks a day) and abundant food. Throughout the Spring every vacant store window in Berlin was plastered with posters of the Volunteer Recruiting Office, and by the beginning of Summer a whole new military movement was in full swing.

THE NEW NOMENCLATURE

The old military nomenclature disappeared, new names came into being, the Reichswehrgruppen were decreed, and new military units, the Reichswehrbrigade, were organized. A large number of recruiting offices were opened in all the larger towns, in villages, and on the great estates of Junkers. All former soldiers were urged to form companies of the Reichswehr, disguised as "rifle clubs." The Government supplied each company of 200 men with three machine

guns, and 500 rounds of ammunition were distributed to each rifleman. Many of these rural detachments were commanded by the owners of the estates on which they were raised. Each German State was required to furnish a contingent to the Reichswehr, and was no longer allowed to organize independent forces. The Reichswehr was in fact an imperial militia, deliberately calculated to re-establish that unity of organization in the German Army which defeat had destroyed. At the end of May the new German Army had already far exceeded the limit of 100,000 men prescribed by the Peace Treaty. The expense was heavy, and the German papers were publishing full-page advertisements urging contributions on patriotic grounds.

In short, at the moment when their delegates were summoned to Versailles, and when they were threatening to refuse to sign the peace, the Germans were already forging a new instrument of war and organizing an army of the republic to take the place of the army of the empire.

SOLDIERS' COUNCILS ABOLISHED

The famous Soldatenrat ceased to exist. It left behind, however, a kind of successor in the so-called Vertrauensraete, or Councils of Confidence, to which the provisions of the Reichswehr give official recognition and certain definite rights. The decree concerning these bodies indicates that they are to serve as a kind of intermediary between the military leaders and their men; to learn their needs and their desires, to act in an advisory capacity with a view to securing the soldiers' comfort and eliminating their discontent. Their function stops at this; in the military domain they have no power, and can issue no orders; they are, in short, but a pale reflection of the Soviet system which, for four months, undermined the authority of the German officer. Their importance, however, is undeniable in relieving the moral malaise of the soldiers of a defeated people, and in abating the suspicion of the extremists.

The sentries aligned along the Wilhelmstrasse in April were impeccable in their brand-new uniforms, of a darker

green than the old feldgrau, and with their belts and bandoliers well oiled. Insignia at the bottom of the sleeves, symbols embroidered on the collars, indicated the corps to which these republican soldiers belonged; silver chevrons of varying widths, placed on the forearm, corresponded to the different grades. The question of the salute still remained undecided, but it was significant that the Vertrauensraete themselves demanded its restoration. Training and drill were maintained. The future was kept strictly in view; one clause of the decree concerning the Reichswehr provided that the officers, of both the upper and lower grades, should be the first called to the formation of the future "armed force," or Wehrmacht.

CONFORMING WITH THE TREATY

As soon as the terms of the Peace Treaty became public Herr Noske began devising a system by which the Reichswehr should be reduced nominally to the 100,000 men allowed by the Allies without actually disarming the other hundreds of thousands of volunteer recruits. His solution was to dissolve the surplus thousands into isolated bodies of local home guards similar to the State militia in the United States. In July the American headquarters at Coblenz came into possession of the following letter, written a week after Germany had signed the treaty, and addressed to persons interested in the home guards:

Berlin, July 5, 1919.

Home Defense Units:

The further existence of the home defense units is threatened by the peace conditions. By Article 177 of the peace terms organization of home defense units is forbidden without question. In order to be able to retain home defense units with the consent of the Entente they must be deprived of every military character at once. The civil authorities must take over their command.

The strength of the army is reduced by the peace terms to such an extent that troops can only be used for the suppression of the most serious disturbances. Local disturbances must henceforth be quieted by the police and home defense units. Since disturbances must be reckoned with for some time to come, home defense units are a vital necessity. Separated from military organization, they will in future signify nothing more than

a step taken by citizens toward strengthening the police for their protection. They will resemble the force of the Fire Department and Red Cross in being establishments aimed at the common welfare.

Organization of the home defense units has not yet reached a point where it would not suffer from withdrawal of military men who have been working in District Councils and other offices on problems of organization. The Minister of the Interior has, therefore, informed all other Presidents that all the military personnel engaged in this work shall be immediately transferred to the civil service in so far as the work of this personnel is of further use. All such personnel must, of course, first be discharged from the military service.

Various commands are requested to cooperate at once with Oberpräsidenten, Landrats, and other officials in this connection. Even after complete demilitarizing of the home defense units it will be very desirable for military officers to help the civil authorities with their advice. Arms, registers, supplies, &c., for the home defense units are to be delivered to the civil authorities. It must be emphasized again that no elements hostile to the Government and order are to be armed under any condition.

All further measures will be agreed on orally. Oral reports will be made on special problems that may arise.

(Signed) NOSKE.

Official von STOCKHAUSEN,
Major General Staff.

AMERICAN STATEMENT

The intelligence section of the American forces in Germany placed the foregoing document in the hands of the Peace Conference, accompanied by a statement entitled "Noske's Effort to Retain the Home Guards Despite the Peace Treaty." This statement said:

For many weeks it has been pointed out in these reports that Minister Noske's system of home guards, on the line of the American National Guard, constituted a great German reserve army in excess of the army permitted by the Peace Treaty, and that obviously Noske was planning some method to retain these home guards, in spite of Article 177 of the treaty, which on the face of it forbids any such military force.

His scheme is now out. It is simply to divorce these home guard units from the War Ministry and turn them over to the local civil authorities throughout Germany, making them ostensibly reserve city police instead of army reserves. His scheme involves retention of arms by all these units, and when it is remembered that they are recruited exclusively from

men who have served at least six months at the front, it may be seen that his scheme is little more than a change of name for these units, which now number several hundred thousand men.

WAR MINISTRY'S PROBLEMS

The New York Times correspondent at Coblenz, Edwin L. James, cabling under date of July 29, gave this summary of the situation:

Five distinct problems of army organization are now being handled by the German War Ministry. They are, first, the final dissolution of the old German Army. This is now very little more than paper work, the details of which are being carried out by demobilization detachments of the old army units. American experts say that apart from the eastern front it is doubtful if more than 5,000 enlisted men are now retained in these old army units.

The second task is the dissolution of the volunteer units organized during the Spring of 1919. Most of these units have, under Noske's administration, been incorporated into the Reichswehr and the others are being rapidly dissolved. The total number of men in these independent volunteer units is uncertain, but inasmuch as Noske appears firmly in the saddle and inasmuch as his policy is dead against these organizations, it is considered certain they will soon disappear.

Noske's third problem is the organization of the Reichswehr, which since April 1 has occupied most of the attention of the German War Ministry. This organization is still continuing despite the fact that the Reichswehr now numbers more than 300,000, and the German Army must number not more than 200,000 three months after the ratification of the treaty, this number to be reduced to 100,000 by next Spring. At this time the total strength of the Reichswehr, plus the strength of the old army units in the eastern theatre, plus the strength of independent volunteer units, is placed as between 400,000 and 500,000 men.

The fourth problem is the organization of a new German Army under the peace terms. Minister Noske has made no public declaration of his plans for the new army, but that he is at work is shown by the fact that the other day Bavaria was notified that its part of the new military force would be 25,000 in the near future and 15,000 after next March. The present Reichswehr is divided into forty-two brigades. Under the old German Army plan all Germany was divided into twenty-four corps districts, with an extra corps, the guard corps, stationed in and around Berlin. Every army unit belonged to one of these twenty-five corps districts, and had its permanent location in its re-

spective district. The present Reichswehr has one brigade stationed in each of the twenty-five old corps districts, with seventeen extra brigades scattered in regions which recent experience has shown to require extra military forces.

The present size of a Reichswehr brigade is about 8,000 men, so that the reduction to the brigade organization in each of the old corps districts would bring the Reichswehr down to the 200,000 men set as the immediate size of the new German Army. The further reduction to 100,000 could be effected either by halving the size of the brigades or else the number of brigade districts.

The fifth undertaking of Noske's Ministry is the formation of a home guard. He is encouraging the formation of these units throughout Germany. Newspapers contain much propaganda advocating the organization of this militia force. Information in possession of the American forces in Germany does not give any

exact figures as to the present size of this organization, but it certainly contains several hundred thousand men.

German Socialists in August were openly objecting to Minister Noske's program as an effort to retain German militarism. The Freiheit of Berlin called the plan a clear violation of the Peace Treaty terms and said that not even a child could be deceived by Noske's scheme into thinking that home guards would lose their military character and purpose. The American Intelligence Bureau at Coblenz remarked in one of its reports that "the German War Ministry would have to do some ingenious scheming to organize these home guards in a form not prohibited by the Peace Treaty."

Trading With Germany Again

Formal Notice of German Ratification Followed by Raising of Blockade and Reopening of Commerce

ACCORDING to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, signed June 28, 1919, resumption of trade relations with Germany could not take place until the treaty had received, first, the formal ratification of Germany; second, that of three chief allied powers, and, finally, that of the country intending to trade with Germany. At a meeting held on June 26, however, the council of the principal allied and associated powers had adopted the following resolution:

The Superior Blockade Council is instructed to base its arrangements for rescinding restrictions upon trade with Germany on the assumption that the allied and associated powers will not wait to raise the blockade until the completion of the ratification, as provided for at the end of the treaty of peace with Germany, but that it is to be raised immediately on the receipt of the information that the treaty of peace has been ratified by Germany.

By the passing of this resolution a problem of importance was solved in the case of nations where delay in ratification of the Peace Treaty was inevitable. By this provision, for instance, the United States was enabled to resume

trade relations with Germany without waiting for the ratification of two other of the principal powers, and the long delay of the American Congress was made of no effect on the time of resumption.

In accordance with the resolution above cited a mere notice of German ratification was all that was required to make the raising of the blockade effective. On July 11, therefore, after receiving the report of the legal experts declaring that the official documents notifying the Council of Five that Germany had ratified the treaty was in due form, the blockade of Central Europe was formally raised, the ban on trade remaining effective only in the case of Soviet Russia and Hungary.

FRANCE RESUMES TRADE WITH GERMANY

The French official note authorizing the resumption of commercial relations between France and Germany was issued from Paris on July 12, on which date also the London Board of Trade, under certain reservations, issued licenses for a similar resumption. In a debate in the

French Chamber on July 24 charges were made that Germans, through agents and by circulars, were offering cutlery, bicycles, and other articles on the French markets at a cost of 75 per cent. less than French manufacturers' cost prices, the intermediaries being returned soldiers from the occupied regions of Germany. It was stated that some officers, as well as soldiers, were awaiting court-martial for engaging in this trade. M. Clemenceau, Minister of Commerce, explained that by reason of the rate of exchange some German products could be sold at very low prices in France, but declared that this situation could not continue for long; French industry, he said, would improve with the stabilizing of exchange and with the better distribution of coal. Reconstruction plans by German labor were initiated on Aug. 7 by French and German Commissioners in Paris.

Formal announcement was made by the United States Government on July 12 that the resumption of trade relations between the United States and Germany had become effective, only a few restrictions on sugar, wheat, dyes, and some drugs and chemicals still remaining in force. The ban on potash was raised on Aug. 6. All trade rights were restored, and all patents, commercial marks, and copyrights were made valid in the enemy countries by the terms of the treaty.

EFFECT IN GERMANY

The effect of the lifting of the trade embargo became speedily apparent in Germany. A sharp decline in prices occurred. This fall of prices was continuing at the end of July in the case of many commodities which the German dealers were getting rid of in the fear that the influx of foreign products would cause a big drop. Cloth and clothing showed the greatest decrease.

Great activity at the same time began along the Pomeranian coast, where ships from neutral ports began to arrive loaded with food cargoes. In Berlin it was stated that necessities would be imported freely, but that luxuries would be admitted only so far as economically advantageous. On July 17 word came that

the Deutsche Bank, the largest private banking institution in Germany, had started negotiations with New York banks for the purpose of establishing credits for German interests in the United States. A few days later Coblenz advices indicated that the resumption of trade relations with the United States was progressing rapidly, and that several important deals were being consummated. At about the same time a Berlin newspaper gave this glimpse of what the war has done to Krupp's great factories at Essen:

Those who knew thriving Essen in her palmy days, seething with work, energy and ambitious powers, office men, stockholders, buyers, sellers, and hotel people, look with dismay at Essen as she is today—silent, dark, hopeless almost. One hope that is left for Essen and the Krupp Works is that they be gradually converted into peace-time factories for the production of peace-time commodities.

AMERICA AT DISADVANTAGE

The report of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for June showed that in the year 1919 all records for foreign trade had been broken, American imports and exports totaling the vast sum of \$10,000,000,000. It developed, however, toward the end of July that British and French commercial interests had gained an enormous advantage over those of America in the race for renaissance German business. The passing of commercial representatives by Great Britain and France had begun as early as April, while the military authorities of the American Army of Occupation on the Rhine had remained under orders to let no American business representative pass, and many American business men had vainly applied for passes. This situation was called to the attention of American General Headquarters by army officials, and the military authorities at Coblenz were empowered on July 22 to issue such permits.

Another great impediment to the resumption of trade relations with Germany was the lack of American Consuls in Germany. Here again the Entente powers, notably Great Britain and France, had been beforehand, while the failure of the United States to send Con-

suls had prevented all ships from returning to this country with cargoes. Two vessels which arrived at Hamburg about July 17 with cargoes of pork products were cleared by Herbert Hoover for return voyages to America. Mr. Hoover, it was said, took this action without specific authority, feeling that it was unfair to keep the vessels at Hamburg on account of the absence of American Consular representatives when British and French Consuls were engaged in clearing ships with cargoes for British and French ports. Later, however, he refused to make any further clearances of ships for American ports, on the ground that if the British and French Governments could assign Consuls to Germany, it was the business of the United States to take a similar course.

Meanwhile American trade was suffering. On July 18 it was announced from Washington that the State Department was considering the sending of Consular officers as commercial agents into Germany. It was doubted whether Consuls, as such, could be dispatched to Germany until after United States ratification of the treaty, and it was stated that there could be no exchange of diplomatic representatives until the treaty was ratified.

PREPARING FOR NEW BUSINESS

Meanwhile, however, preparations were made to care for the new business in the way of tonnage and transportation. On July 18 the United States Shipping Board

allocated ten cargo vessels aggregating over 86,000 tons for trade with Germany and plying between that country and various ports of the United States from New York to New Orleans. On the same date the pre-war rate of 12 cents a pound on parcel-post packages to Germany was re-established by the Post Office Department. Very few letters and parcels had been received before the date of this announcement. The Post Office Department was preparing to receive a large quantity of mail from Germany, in view of the fact that it had been thirty months since the mails were closed to that country. The German censorship on letters was virtually raised on Aug. 1. From Aug. 1 the New York Post Office was besieged by German-Americans bearing packages of sausage and fat for their kinsmen in Germany.

With the announcement from the Western Union Telegraph Company that private cablegrams of all classes might be accepted for places in Germany if written in plain English, French, German, Italian, or Spanish, came Washington advices on July 24 that uncensored wireless communication with Germany by way of the Nauen station had been opened on that day for the first time since the beginning of the war and that commercial messages had been sent through the navy's radio system. Atmospheric conditions limited sendings to three or four hours daily and to a maximum of 5,000 words. Autumn conditions would double that capacity.

Feeding 400,000 Children

IT was announced officially from Paris on July 17 that 4,000,000 children in Europe were being fed under the auspices of the American Relief Administration. This work was to be continued through private charity under American direction even after the conclusion of the work of the American Food Administration in Europe.

Enough supplies are now available to continue operations for several months, and experts who came to Europe with Herbert Hoover, Chairman of the Inter-

allied Supreme Food Council, believe they will be able to obtain sufficient funds from private sources to keep up the feeding of children as long as the necessity exists.

One million children are being fed in Poland alone; Finland, the Baltic provinces, Russia, Serbia, Rumania, and Croatia being the other fields where there is necessity for this work. The Americans have the children subjected to an examination, and feed only those who are undernourished.

Terms of the Rhineland Occupation

Powers of the High Commission

WHEN the Council of Four handed the final version of the Peace Treaty to the German delegation at Versailles on June 16, 1919, they also presented the text of an agreement defining the terms under which the allied armies would occupy the Rhine Provinces during the fifteen years that would elapse before the final indemnity payment. This document was in the nature of a detailed elaboration of Articles 428-432 of the Peace Treaty; it was signed by the Germans on June 28 and ratified on July 9 at the same time as the main document. The text is as follows:

Agreement between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, and France of the one part, and Germany of the other part, with regard to the military occupation of the territories of the Rhine.

The undersigned, acting under the powers conferred upon them by their respective Governments, have come to the following agreement as provided for in Article 432 of the Treaty of Peace of even date:

ARTICLE 1.—In accordance with Article 428 and the following articles of the treaty of even date, the armed forces of the allied and associated powers will continue in occupation of German territory (as such occupation is defined by Article 5 of the armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, as extended by Article 7 of the additional convention of January 16, 1919) as a guarantee of the execution by Germany of the treaty. No German troops, except prisoners of war in process of repatriation, shall be admitted to the occupied territories, even in transit, but police forces of a strength to be determined by the allied and associated powers may be maintained in these territories for the purpose of insuring order.

ARTICLE 2.—There shall be constituted a civilian body, styled the Interallied Rhineland High Commission and hereinafter called "The High Commission," which, except in so far as the treaty may otherwise provide, shall be the supreme representative of the allied and associated powers within the occupied territory. It shall consist of four members, representing Belgium, France, Great Britain, and the United States.

GERMAN COURTS TO SIT

ARTICLE 3.—(a) The High Commission shall have the power to issue ordinances so far as may be necessary for securing the maintenance, safety, and requirements of the allied and associated forces. Such ordinances shall be published under the authority of the

High Commission, and copies thereof shall be sent to each of the allied and associated Governments and also to the German Government. When so published they shall have the force of law and shall be recognized as such by all the allied military authorities and by the German civil authorities.

(b) The members of the High Commission shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

(c) The German courts shall continue to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction, subject to the exceptions contained in Paragraphs (d) and (e) below.

(d) The armed forces of the allied and associated powers and the persons accompanying them, to whom the general officers commanding the armies of occupation shall have issued a revokable pass, and any persons employed by or in the service of such troops, shall be exclusively subject to the military law and jurisdiction of such forces.

(e) Any person who commits any offense against the persons or property of the armed forces of allied and associated powers may be made amenable to the military jurisdiction of the said forces.

RIGHT OF ARREST

ARTICLE 4.—The German authorities, both in the occupied and in the unoccupied territories, shall, on the demand of any duly authorized military officer of the occupying forces, arrest and hand over to the nearest commander of the allied or associated troops any person charged with an offense which is amenable under Paragraph (d) or Paragraph (e) of Article 3, above, to the military jurisdiction of the allied or associated forces.

ARTICLE 5.—The civil administration of the provinces (provinzen), Government departments (regierungsbezirke), urban circles (stadtkreise), rural circles (landkreise), and communes (gemeinde) shall remain in the hands of the German authorities and the civil administration of these areas shall continue under German law and under the authority of the Central German Government, except in so far as it may be necessary for the High Commission, by ordinance under Article 3, to adapt that administration to the needs and circumstances of military occupation. It is understood that the German authorities shall be obliged, under penalty of removal, to conform to the ordinances issued in virtue of Article 3, above.

RIGHT TO REQUISITION

ARTICLE 6.—The right to requisition in kind and to demand services in the manner laid down in The Hague Convention of 1907 shall be exercised by the allied and associated armies of occupation. The charges for the requisitions effected in the zone of each

allied and associated army and the estimate of damage caused by the troops of occupation shall be determined by local commissions composed in equal representation of German civilians, appointed by the German civilian authorities, and allied military officers, and presided over by some person appointed by the High Commission.

The German Government shall continue to be responsible for the cost of maintenance of the troops of occupation under the conditions fixed by the treaty. The German Government shall also be responsible for the costs and expenses of the High Commission and for its housing. Suitable premises for the housing of the High Commission shall be selected in consultation with the German Government.

ARTICLE 7.—The allied troops shall continue undisturbed in possession of any premises at present occupied by them, subject to the provisions of Article 8 (b), below.

ARTICLE 8.—(a) The German Government shall undertake, moreover, to place at the disposal of the allied and associated troops, and to maintain in good state of repair, all the military establishments required for the said troops with the necessary furniture, heating, and lighting, in accordance with the regulations concerning these matters in force in the various armies concerned. These shall include accommodation for officers and men, guardrooms, offices, administrative, regimental, and staff headquarters, workshops, storerooms, hospitals, laundries, regimental schools, riding schools, stables, training grounds, and rifle and artillery ranges, aviation grounds, grazing grounds, warehouses for supplies, and grounds for military manoeuvres, also theatre and cinema premises, and reasonable facilities for sport and for recreation grounds for the troops.

BILLETING EXCEPTIONAL

(b) Private soldiers and non-commissioned officers shall be accommodated in barracks, and shall not be billeted on the inhabitants except in cases of exceptional emergency. In the event of the existing military establishments being insufficient or not being considered suitable, the allied and associated troops may take possession of any other public or private establishment, with its personnel, suitable for those purposes, or, if there are no such suitable premises, they may require the construction of new barracks. Civilian and military officers and their families may be billeted on the inhabitants in accordance with the billeting regulations in force in each army.

ARTICLE 9.—No German direct taxes or duties will be payable by the High Commission, the allied armies, or their personnel. Food supplies, arms, clothing, equipment, and provisions of all kinds for the use of the allied and associated armies or addressed to the military authorities or to the High Commission or to canteens and officers' messes shall be transported free of charge and free of all import duties of any kind.

COMMUNICATIONS

ARTICLE 10.—The personnel employed on all means of communication (railways, railroads, and tramways of all kinds, waterways—including the Rhine—roads and rivers) shall obey any orders given by or on behalf of the Commander in Chief of the allied and associated armies for military purposes. All the material and all the civil personnel necessary for the maintenance and working of all means of communication must be kept intact on all such means of communication in the occupied territory. The transport on the railways of allied troops or individual soldiers or officers on duty or furnished with a warrant will be effected without payment.

ARTICLE 11.—The armies of occupation may continue to use for military purposes all existing telegraphic and telephonic installations. The armies of occupation shall also have the right to continue to install and use military telegraph and telephone lines, wireless stations, and all other similar means of communication which may appear to them expedient for this purpose. Subject to the approval of the High Commission, they may enter upon and occupy any land, whether public or private. The personnel of the public telegraph and telephone services shall continue to obey the orders of the Commander in Chief of the allied and associated armies given for military purposes. Allied and associated telegrams and messages of an official nature shall be entitled to priority over all other communications, and shall be dispatched free of charge. The allied and associated military authorities shall have the right to supervise the order in which such communications are transmitted. No wireless telegraphy installations shall be allowed to be erected by the authorities or by the inhabitants of the occupied territory without previous authorization by the allied and associated military authorities.

POSTAL SERVICE

ARTICLE 12.—The personnel of the postal service shall obey any orders given by or on behalf of the Commander in Chief of the allied armies for military purposes. The public postal service shall continue to be carried out by the German authorities, but this shall not in any way affect the retention of the military postal services organized by the armies of occupation, who shall have the right to use all existing postal routes for military requirements. The said armies shall have the right to run postal wagons with all necessary personnel on all existing postal routes. The German Government shall transmit free of charge and without examination letters and parcels which may be intrusted to its post offices by or for the armies of occupation or by or for the High Commission, and shall be responsible for the value of any letters or parcels lost.

ARTICLE 13.—The High Commission shall have the power, wherever they think it nec-

essary, to declare a state of siege in any part of the territory or in the whole of it. Upon such declaration the military authorities shall have the powers provided in the German imperial law of May 30, 1892. In case of emergency, where public order is disturbed or

threatened in any district, the local military authorities shall have the power to take such temporary measures as may be necessary for restoring order. In such case the military authorities shall report the facts to the High Commission.

Protocol to the German Peace Treaty

A BRIEF protocol to the German Peace Treaty was signed and ratified by Germany on the same date as the treaty itself. When President Wilson sent this supplementary document to the United States Senate on Aug. 1 it was accompanied by a letter from Secretary Lansing and by a brief message, in which the President gave this explanation of its origin:

The protocol originated in a written interchange of views between the representatives of the allied and associated powers and the representatives of Germany, as a result of which the representatives of Germany requested that certain explanations of methods and facilities, which it was proposed should be accorded the German Government in the execution of the treaty, should be reduced to writing and signed by the powers signatory to the treaty so as to form a definite and binding memorandum.

The text of the protocol, which was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee, is as follows:

With a view to indicating precisely the conditions in which certain provisions of the treaty of even date are to be carried out, it is agreed by the high contracting parties that:

1. A commission will be appointed by the principal allied and associated powers to supervise the destruction of the fortifications of Heligoland, in accordance with the treaty. This commission will be authorized to decide what portion of the works protecting the coast from sea ero-

sion is to be maintained and what portion must be destroyed.

2. Sums reimbursed by Germany to German nationals to indemnify them in respect of the interests which they may be found to possess in the railways and mines referred to in the second paragraph of Article 156 shall be credited to Germany against the sums due by way of reparation. [The paragraph referred to relates to the Tsing-Tao-Tsinanfu Railway and mines in China acquired by Japan under the Peace Treaty.]

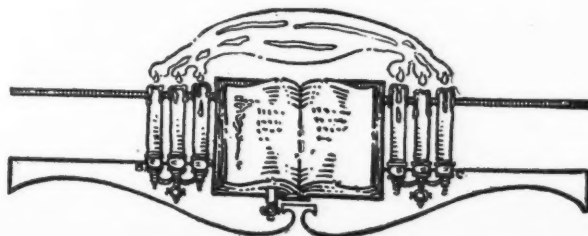
3. The list of persons to be handed over to the allied and associated Governments by Germany under the second paragraph of Article 228 shall be communicated to the German Government within a month from the coming into force of the treaty.

4. The reparation commission referred to in Article 240 and paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of Annex 4 cannot require trade secrets or other confidential information to be divulged.

5. From the signature of the treaty and within the ensuing four months Germany will be entitled to submit for examination by the allied and associated powers documents and proposals in order to expedite the work connected with reparation, and thus to shorten the investigation and accelerate the decisions.

6. Proceedings will be taken against persons who have committed punishable offenses in the liquidation of German property, and the allied and associated powers will welcome any information which the German Government can furnish on this subject.

Done at Versailles the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.



Causes and Cure of Labor Unrest

Summary of the Report of the Canadian Commission on Industrial Relations

By OWEN E. MCGILLICUDDY

THE Canadian Government on April 9, 1919, appointed a royal commission to inquire into existing labor troubles, to make suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employees, and to recommend means for insuring that conditions affecting these relations should be reviewed from time to time with a view to improving the situation. The commission's report was submitted to the Canadian Parliament at the close of the recent session, and its recommendations were at once recognized as likely to be far-reaching in their effect.

The commission consisted of Chief Justice T. G. Mathers of Manitoba, Senator Smeaton White, and Charles Harrison, M. P., representing the public; Carl Riordon, President of the Riordon Pulp and Paper Company, and F. Pauze, lumberman, representing the employers; Thomas Moore, President of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and J. W. Bruce, member of the Labor Appeal Board, representing the employees. This group of investigators was directed by the Government, (1) to make a survey and classification of existing Canadian industries, (2) to obtain information as to the character and extent of organization already existing among bodies of employers and employees especially, and (3) to investigate available data as to the progress made by joint Industrial Councils in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States.

The commission began its investigation at Victoria on April 26, and completed its inquiry at Ottawa on June 13. Between these dates seventy sessions were held in twenty-eight industrial centres, extending from Victoria, British Columbia, to Sydney, Nova Scotia, during which time 486 witnesses were exam-

ined. The witnesses examined represented both employers and employees and the public generally. In addition to their evidence a large number of industrial plants were visited.

CHIEF CAUSES OF UNREST

The majority report, signed by Chairman Mathers, Carl Riordon, Charles R. Harrison, Thomas Moore, and John W. Bruce, finds that these are the chief causes of unrest: (1) Unemployment and the fear of unemployment; (2) high cost of living in relation to wages and the desire of the worker for a larger share of the product of his labor; (3) desire for shorter hours of labor; (4) denial of the right to organize and refusal to recognize unions; (5) denial of collective bargaining; (6) lack of confidence in constituted government; (7) insufficient and poor housing; (8) restrictions upon the freedom of speech and press; (9) ostentatious display of wealth; (10) lack of equal educational opportunities. The report adds:

There were many other reasons assigned for unrest and dissatisfaction, but the above embrace the causes most frequently expressed. It is obvious that the best method of dealing with present unrest and establishing better relations between employer and employee is to remove the cause in so far as it is possible or practical to do so. We have placed unemployment first because we found there was the greatest unrest where there were the most unemployed. Unemployment was found in several of the large urban centres. There is, however, little unemployment in the smaller towns and rural districts, notwithstanding the number of workers who have been released from munition work and the number of soldiers discharged from service.

The commission found that in practically every province there was a great scarcity of labor on the farms. This scarcity was most pronounced in the

three prairie provinces—Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba—although the same complaint was made from Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. One local Government employment officer stated that he had on his books 1,000 men asking for employment, while at the same time he had a list of 1,500 vacancies on farms, but none of the 1,000 men could be induced to accept them. The chief reason assigned was "an objection to the conditions of "life on the farm, its isolation, the hard "and long hours of labor, the seasonal "nature of employment, and insufficiency of wages paid during the few "months of employment to tide the farm "laborer over the unemployed season or "to maintain his family in the urban "centre."

CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

It is the belief of the commission that present unemployment is in a measure due to the curtailment of production in some industries because of the lack of ocean tonnage. The large number of Orientals in the lumber industry in British Columbia is also complained of. It was stated that while white men were out of work Orientals were employed because they could afford to work for less than the white man could possibly exist upon, owing to the difference in standards of living. As a means of providing immediate employment several witnesses urged that the Governments—Dominion, Provincial, and Municipal—undertake the prosecution of useful public works.

But [continues the report] supplying the unemployed man with suitable work for the present will not entirely solve the problem. Before the laborer can be made contented the haunting fear of unemployment must be removed from his mind. This is something which affects all wage earners, but more especially the casual laborers. Unemployment may arise from other causes than the loss of the job. The worker may be incapacitated by sickness, invalidity, or old age. To make provision for these contingencies the commission recommends some provision by a system of State social insurance for those who, through no fault of their own, are unable to work, whether the inability arises from lack of opportunity, sickness, invalidity, or old age. Such insurance

would remove the spectre of fear which now haunts the wage earner and make him a more contented and better citizen.

From all over Canada the commission received evidence assigning the high cost of living as one, if not the chief, cause of labor unrest. The opinion was



SENATOR GIDEON ROBERTSON
Canadian Minister of Labor, who recommended
Commission on Industrial Unrest
(Photo British Colonial Press)

frequently expressed that if this feature could be solved and the equilibrium established between the wages and the cost of living labor unrest would largely disappear. The commission was informed that, although during the war nominal wages were advanced from time to time, real wages had not advanced because the rise in the prime necessities of life invariably kept just ahead of the advance in wages. It was stated that in many cases after the workers had secured an advance in wages the cost of the commodities immediately also advanced, so that the increase in wages had been neutralized.

COLD STORAGE BLAMED

It was found that a great many people cherished a deep-seated belief that the high cost of living was due to profiteering in the necessities of life, and that the chief instrument made use of to that end was the cold storage plant. In some localities public markets had ceased to exist because the agents of cold storage plants intercepted the supplies which the farmer would otherwise bring to market for sale. In this way the frugal housewife who had been in the habit of going to the market daily for the family requirements of meat, vegetables, &c., could no longer make use of this means of supply. Those who suffered from this cause were not alone those classed as laborers, but also the salaried classes.

The commission is strongly of the opinion that the high cost of living is closely allied with a desire by the worker for a larger share of the product of his toil. The members found that there was a settled conviction of injustice in this regard in the mind of the worker. The discussion of measures to meet this issue brought forth a great diversity of opinion from various groups of workers. The report continues:

In the past labor has been regarded as a commodity to be bought and sold in the open market, the price to be paid being determined by the supply and demand. The commission believes that labor should no longer be so regarded, and that greater recognition should be given to human rights and human aspirations, and that the chief consideration in industry should be the health, happiness, and prosperity of the workers with service to the community. The first clause of the labor declaration in the Peace Treaty states that "labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or as an article of commerce." This the commission believes to be the basic principle on which the dealings between the employer and the employee should be established; and if it is freely and frankly acknowledged by employers and acted upon in good faith we believe it will go a long way toward improving the relations between them.

NEW LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED

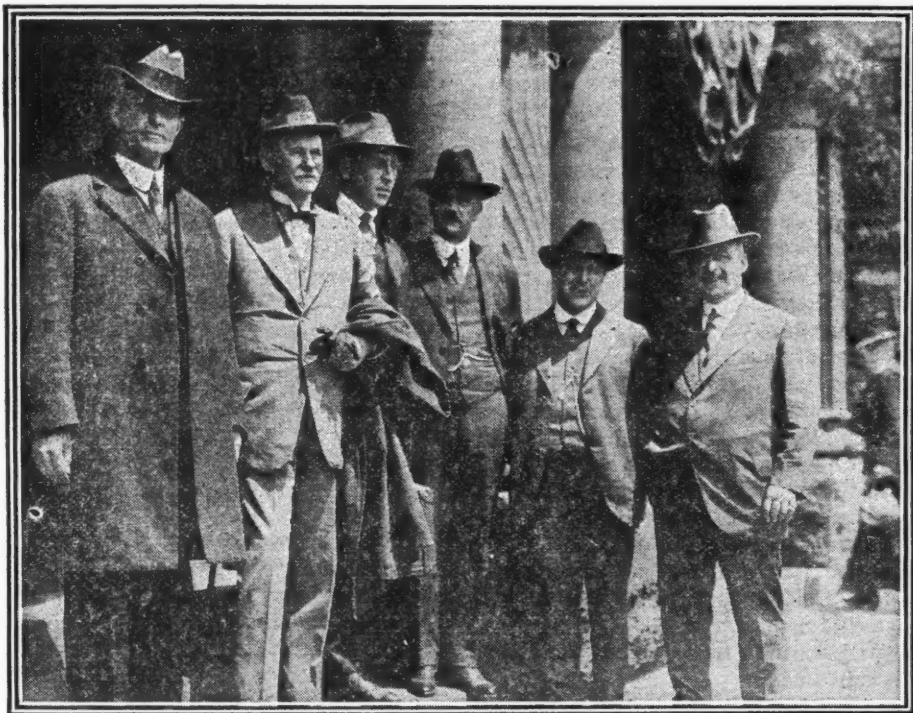
The commission is strongly of the opinion that without any extraordinary upheaval policies may be adopted which will insure to the worker a fairer reward for his toil and insure him against

want during temporary periods of enforced idleness brought about by unemployment, sickness, or invalidity and during old age. To bring this about the commission has recommended that legislation be enacted to provide for (1) the fixing of a minimum wage, especially for women, girls, and unskilled labor; (2) a maximum work day of eight hours, and a weekly rest of not less than twenty-four hours.

The commission further recommends an immediate inquiry by expert boards into the following subjects with a view to early legislation: (1) State insurance against unemployment, sickness, invalidity, and old age; (2) proportional representation in all branches of Government, whether Federal, Provincial, or Municipal. Suitable action by the Government is also suggested to regulate the erection of public works in such a way as to relieve periods of unemployment; to give substantial help in the building of workmen's homes; to establish a bureau for the promotion of industrial councils, and to restore full liberty of speech and of the press.

Other general recommendations made by the commission are: (a) Official recognition of the unions and the right to organize; (b) the payment of a living wage; (c) recognition of the principle of collective bargaining; (d) the extension of equal opportunities in education; (e) immediate steps toward the establishment of joint plant and industrial councils, and (f) that the findings of the commission be put into effect in all work controlled by the Government where the principles of democratic management can be applied.

In several of the provinces of Canada the commission found a serious cause of dissatisfaction in the absence of a minimum wage law, particularly for women and girls. In Manitoba, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Quebec there is such a law administered by a minimum wage board, by which the minimum rate to be paid is fixed from time to time by the Provincial Legislatures. The report expresses the opinion that such a law should be enacted in all the provinces, and should cover not only women and girls, but unskilled labor as well.



ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS. RIGHT TO LEFT: F. PAUZE, TOM MOORE, J. W. BRUCE, CARL RIORDON, CHIEF JUSTICE MATHERS, (CHAIRMAN,) AND CHARLES R. HARRISON. HON. SMEATON WHITE, THE OTHER MEMBER, WAS ABSENT

(Photo British Colonial Press)

FORTY-FOUR-HOUR WEEK

Regarding shorter hours the commission found that the most common request was for an eight-hour day with the Saturday half holiday, so that a forty-four-hour week would be possible. The report states that approval of this plan by employers was generally coupled with statements of the following difficulties: (1) The necessity for the utilization of all possible daylight where industry is subject to climatic conditions and must be carried on during a limited season; examples given were farming, fishing, logging, &c.; (2) the disadvantage of a section of an industry working shorter hours in competition with other sections of the same industry within Canada working longer hours; (3) the fear of the inability of Canadian industry, with its small home market, to meet the competition in foreign markets if the conditions in Canada were advanced too far

ahead of countries manufacturing similar products. The commission expresses the opinion that a shorter day is most needed in industries that are fatiguing, monotonous, or under trying conditions, such as heat, dust, cramped position, &c. The members are also of the opinion that the number of hours should not be fixed by the ability to work without undue fatigue, but should be based scientifically on the demands of the industry.

THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

On the denial of the right to organize the report of the commission is very definite and clear-cut. It says:

Employers may be divided into three classes: (1) Those who deny the right of their employees to organize, and who actively take steps to prevent such organization; (2) those who, while not denying that right, refuse to recognize organization among their employees, and persist in dealing with them as individuals or as committees of employees with-

out regard to their affiliation with the organization, and (3) those who not only admit the right of their employees to organize, but recognize and bargain with the organization on behalf of their employees.

The commission found that while there are not many employers in Canada who belong to the first class, there are a very large number who belong to the second. Rightly or wrongly, the workers believe that many employers who openly declare their willingness that their employees should organize covertly put obstacles in the way of their doing so, and those employees who are actively organizing their fellows are got rid of or penalized in some other way. To the third class belong the great railway, telegraph, and mining companies and many building trades. Outside of these the employers of labor who recognize and deal with organized labor as such are in the minority. Holding that the day has passed when any employer should deny his employees the right to organize, the Commissioners say:

We believe the frank acknowledgment of this right by employers will remove one of the most serious causes of unrest. The employers gain nothing by their opposition, because, notwithstanding much opposition, their employees do organize, and a refusal but creates in their minds a rankling sense of injustice. When the employers engaged in one line of industry are organized and their respective employees are also formed into a central organization, a bargain between the two groups would have the advantage, from the point of view of competition, of equalizing wages, hours, and other conditions affecting costs.

The commission defined collective bargaining as "a term which implies the 'right of workers to group themselves together for the purpose of selling their labor power collectively to their employer instead of making individual agreements.'" Another definition given was this: "Collective bargaining is 'simply the negotiation of agreements between employers or groups of employers and employees or groups of employees, through the representatives chosen by the respective parties themselves.'"

The complaint was made to the commission that legislation enacted for the

benefit of labor was not adequately enforced. The belief appeared to be entertained that the Governments, both Provincial and Federal, were largely controlled by the financial interests, and that their influence was manifest, not only in legislation, but in the executive action of the several Governments. As evidence of this witnesses pointed to the large profits which, according to the public press, were made by corporations dealing in foodstuffs and other necessary commodities. The remedy suggested was better representation in Parliament through a system of proportional representation for group constituencies such as has been in operation for several years in Belgium and Sweden.

SCARCITY OF DWELLINGS

Another cause of unrest which the commission met with at practically every place visited was the pronounced scarcity of houses and the poor quality of some of those which did exist. In nothing has production more signally fallen off during the four years of war than in the building of dwelling houses. Poor sanitary conditions and insufficient rooms were the chief complaints, and the high price of building land and building material has made it impossible for the worker to provide himself with a home.

But over and above all other considerations the commission urges the necessity for greater co-operation between the employer and the employee. The one great obstacle to such co-operation, so the report states, is the suspicion and distrust with which, in many cases, each regards the other. It continues:

It is only fair to state that in many cases the relations between particular employers and their employees were found to be harmonious. In all such cases the guiding principle was a frank recognition by each of the rights of the other. At present the worker has little or no knowledge of the difficulties which beset his employers, the cost of raw material, the working expenses, the competition which he has to meet, the risk of his capital, and the margin of profit which he receives. On the other hand, the employer is equally ignorant of the employee's difficulties and viewpoint. This ignorance gives rise to disputes as to rates of pay, hours of labor, and a hundred and one questions which could be largely solved

if each side understood what the other had to contend with.

JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS

As a means of eliminating this mutual distrust and of securing a permanent improvement in industrial relations, the commission points out that several forms of joint industrial councils have been adopted and are now in use in England, Canada, Australia, the United States, and elsewhere. The three recognized types are: (1) The Whitley works committees and industrial councils operating in Great Britain; (2) what is generally known as the Colorado plan, operating in some parts of the United States and Canada, and (3) industrial democracy as put into effect by John Leitch in a number of factories in the United States. The Whitley report, which resulted in the formation of many shop committees and joint industrial councils in England, recommends the formation for each national industry of three classes of organization: (1) A national joint council, (2) district joint councils, and (3) works committees. The national and district councils are composed of equal numbers of representatives of employers and employed. The representation on works committees need not be equally divided, as decisions must be arrived at by agreement between the two parties.

The commission emphasizes the fact that one of the basic principles in the establishing of industrial councils under the Whitley plan is to avoid friction with either Government or trade union machinery which may already be in existence for the adjusting of matters of wages, hours, &c. It is pointed out that in Toronto a joint council closely resembling the district joint council under the Whitley plan is in actual operation in the building trades, and that similar councils are projected for these trades in Ottawa and Montreal. There is also a works committee in the Coffin and Ship Yards at Vancouver.

THE COLORADO PLAN

Under the Colorado plan, which Winnipeg employees are proposing to adopt in a modified form, joint committees com-

posed of equal numbers of representatives of workers and of the company are formed. The representatives of the workers are elected by secret ballots in proportion to their numbers, and no distinction is made between union and non-union men. The Colorado plan differs from the Whitley plan in that the English system makes organization of the workers a preliminary to the constitution of the council, and representatives are nominated and elected only from the membership of their particular unions.

The Leitch plan, which is called Industrial Democracy, was found to be in operation in more than twenty plants and is based upon the Constitution of the United States. The complete organization consists of a Cabinet, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The Cabinet consists of the executive officers of the company and is primarily an executive body with veto powers. The Senate is elected and made up of under executives, departmental heads, and foremen. The House of Representatives is elected by secret ballot by the whole body of workers. The business policy set before the workers is justice, economy, co-operation, and service, and they benefit financially by receiving 50 per cent. of the savings on the cost of production.

GAINING WORKERS' SUPPORT

After a careful investigation into the various systems the commission came to the conclusion that in order to allay suspicion the employers should not prepare a plan of joint councils and submit it in a completed form to the employees to be accepted or rejected. Employees, it was thought, should be invited to co-operate with the employer in formulating the plan. It would thus be the joint product of both and would consequently be received by the employees without the suspicion that so often attaches to something which emanates from the employer alone. The commission took note of the fact that in none of the plans in operation in Canada is there provision for the recall of any representative of the employees whose conduct as a member of the council has proved unsatisfactory to those by whom he was elected. It was

the opinion of the commission that provision should be made for the right to recall and the holding of a new election.

The report seeks to make clear that the organization of the council was not intended to supplant trade unions, and that no impediment should be placed in the way of the workers forming or joining a union if they choose to do so. Where there is a trade union the representatives of the employees on the council should be selected by the union organizations if it is the desire of the workers to do so. Otherwise the council should be elected from the employees in any manner they may select.

The commission saw fit to suggest the following as proper subjects to be dealt with by such councils: Wage rates, hours of labor, conditions surrounding the worker in the plant, such as safety, ventilation, light, sanitation, provision for meals, dressing rooms, shelter, &c.; child and woman labor, questions of discipline and conduct as between management and work people, conditions surrounding the worker outside the plant, such as education, amusement, recreation, health, housing, apprenticeship or

special training, libraries, &c., and improvement in the plant or processes to improve quality, increase production, decrease waste, &c., and the reward of those who think out and suggest such improvements. The report adds:

We recommend that the Government should interest itself in the development of these councils, and that a bureau should be established under the Minister of Labor which would compile all available statistics on this subject, undertake publication of development in this and other countries, maintain officers who would be available to give assistance and act as liaison officers between employers and workers, where a desire is expressed to create such councils, and render such other assistance as may be required.

In concluding the report the Commissioners state that they are under no illusions as to industrial councils constituting a universal panacea for all industrial troubles. "Their usefulness," says the report, "will depend upon the spirit with which they are adopted, and we believe that nothing but good can possibly result from their establishment in all industries where a considerable number of work people are employed."

International Labor Congress at Amsterdam

The International Labor Congress held its first regular session in Amsterdam on July 28, 1919, under the Presidency of M. Oudegeest of the Dutch Federation. Little was accomplished either at this first session, or that of the following day; these were stormy meetings, the trouble being occasioned mainly by what Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, characterized the unrepentant attitude of the German delegates. This attitude was visible notably in a resolution offered by Herr Sassenbach, who disclaimed any culpability for the war in the case of the German workmen, who, the resolution said, had been merely misled. The resolution was referred to a committee, and

toned down considerably. In the course of the congress Mr. Gompers and Herr Carl Legien, one of the best known of the German trade unionists, clashed violently over the question of the German attitude and that of whether the Berne program of labor at the congress held last year, which American representatives did not attend, should be adopted in substitution for that incorporated in the treaty of peace. A victory was won by Mr. Gompers in the matter of representation. Practically all the German and Austrian members were ousted, and a ratio was decided on the basis of membership representation, which equalized the American representation proportionately to other and smaller nations.

Demands of Railway Labor Unions

Nationalization of the Rail Lines Sought by Four Brotherhoods—The Plumb Plan

THE four large brotherhoods of railway employees, alleging that their wages were wholly inadequate to meet the high and steadily growing prices of food and other commodities, threw a bombshell into the American industrial and financial world on Aug. 2, 1919, by issuing a peremptory demand for an immediate increase of wages amounting approximately to \$800,000,000. At the same time they served notice that a refusal to grant this increase would evoke a general strike early in September which would tie up every railroad in the United States.

They also presented before Congress, through Representative Sims, Democrat, and former Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, a bill incorporating the features of a scheme of railway nationalization devised by Glenn E. Plumb, and known as the "Plumb Plan," which the railroad employees asserted would meet their demands and go far to solve the problem of the high cost of living.

The statement of the brotherhoods, in which these demands were set forth, was signed by Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and other brotherhood officials. It called for Government ownership of the railroads on a profit-sharing basis with employees, the basic feature of the Plumb plan. The text of this statement was as follows:

OLD SYSTEM ATTACKED

Labor faces a persistently serious situation, due to the cost of living and the impossibility of wages keeping pace with the depreciation of money. No fundamental changes are being advanced to save workers from continual defeat in the economic struggle of life. The railroad employees are in no mood to brook the return of the lines to their former control, since all the plans suggested for this settlement of the problems leave labor essentially where it has stood and where it is determined not to stand.

We realize that in the strife for wage

increases we cannot win any permanent victory. It is not money but value which counts. The vicious circle is infinite; increased wages are overcapitalized for inflated profits, and the cost of goods mounts faster than the wage level. A few grow wealthy and the multitude is impoverished.

Any basic change must begin with the railroads. We believe the interests of labor and the public to be identical in the railroad question. The properties have been operated for the profit of the few, not for the service of the many. Not only have we suffered from inadequate wages, but the public has paid an extortionate tax for transportation, a tax based on inflated values and collected from every person buying the necessities of life.

Our proposal is to operate the railroads democratically, applying the principles to industry for which in international affairs the nation has participated in a world war. President Wilson declared in his message of May 20, 1919, for the "genuine democratization of industry, based upon a full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare in the part they are to play in industry." He spoke plainly in behalf of a "genuine co-operation and partnership based upon real community of interest and participation in control."

It has been argued that labor is merely asking the public to let the workers become the railroad profiteers in place of Wall Street. This argument cannot survive a scrutiny of our proposal.

DEMAND SHARE OF PROFITS

We do ask for a share of the surplus at the end of each year, after operating costs are met and fixed charges are paid; but we also provide an automatic reduction in rates when this surplus comes to a given level. To restore the surplus the employees of the railroads must increase the efficiency of their management and they must invite new business. What we ask is to share the saving from economies we ourselves introduce and to share the surplus from new business our efficiency makes possible. We should not profit from the railroads as financiers have done; we should participate in the increased earnings from our increased production. We could not earn dividends

unless industry as a whole were stimulated by improved transportation service.

In our bill the rights of the public are protected. The rate-fixing power, which is the final check upon railroad management, remains with the Interstate Commerce Commission. If the new corporation should attempt to pay itself excessive returns and produce a deficit, the lease is forfeitable.

As to the danger of collusion between the directors of labor and the directors of management to vote to absorb the surplus by raising wages, and thus destroy the incentive of dividends, the bill makes a sound provision. We believe that the dividend system is essential if service is to be the motive, and not profits. We arrange to give to management twice the rate of dividend the classified employees receive. So management's dividend is always double what its increase of wages would be, and management would never vote to use the surplus for a wage increase at the sacrifice of half of its own gains. To obtain a wage increase, the classified employees would have to win the vote of the public directors.

We assure the public immediate savings. The cost of capital would be reduced from the present 6 to 7 per cent. paid to Wall Street to 4 per cent. paid upon Government securities. The savings assured under a unified system are enormous. The savings through efficiency rendered possible only by democratic operation are even greater, for the increased production resulting from harmonious relations between employees and their managers are incalculable. We believe our plan will reduce transportation charges in surprising measure and that it is the first and the most important step in any constructive effort to lower the cost of living.

WARREN S. STONE,

Grand Chief Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

W. G. LEE,

President Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

TIMOTHY SHEA,

Acting Chief Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

L. E. SHEPPARD,

President Order of Railway Conductors.

B. M. JEWELL,

Acting President Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor.

CAUSES A SENSATION

This statement, the leaders asserted, had been approved by the American Federation of Labor. Its demands, embodying a vast and fundamental change in railway administration, caused a sensation in Washington and throughout the

country, recalling to many the scenes in Washington when these same railroad brotherhoods, headed by William B. Garretson, then President of the Order of Railway Conductors, forced through Congress on Sept. 2, 1916, the Adamson "eight-hour day" legislation by similar threats of paralyzing the nation if their demands were not granted. It was stated that representatives of the railroad brotherhoods who had consulted with President Wilson concerning the railroad problem and the crisis brought on by the high cost of living had presented a most determined front in requesting favorable action on the legislation they proposed, and that they were insistent that the railway systems must not be returned to their former owners. (Such a return had been officially decreed for Jan. 1, 1920.)

With the placing of the Sims bill before the House, the name of Glenn E. Plumb, the legal representative of the brotherhoods, came into national prominence. Mr. Plumb had taken an active part in anti-corporation movements in the Middle West, but was little known until his bill was presented to Congress on behalf of the brotherhoods. He is a man of about 50 years of age, a graduate of Oberlin College and of the Harvard Law School; he obtained his first extensive introduction to corporation law at the Chicago bar, and subsequently devoted several years to an exhaustive study of railway legislation and operation, including charter law, from the time of the organization of the first American railway system. In 1906 he was retained in the action against the street railway systems of Chicago. Four years ago he was first employed by the railroad brotherhoods to present an argument before the Interstate Commerce Commission, and his work attracted much attention. He is now general counsel for the organized railway employees of America, which includes the four brotherhoods and ten affiliated railway organizations. Mr. Plumb had no share in the fight of the brotherhoods in 1916 in forcing the Adamson law through Congress. He has, however, studied the railway situation as applied

to the Plumb plan for Government ownership and nationalization for fifteen years.

FEATURES OF PLUMB PLAN

The main features of the scheme devised by Mr. Plumb may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Purchase by the Government on valuation as determined finally by the courts.
2. Operation by a directorate of fifteen members, five to be chosen by the President to represent the public, five to be elected by the operating officials, and five by the classified employees.
3. Equal division of surplus, after paying fixed charges and operating costs, between the public and the employees.
4. Automatic reduction of rates when the employees' share of surplus is more than 5 per cent. of gross operating revenue.
5. Regional operation as a unified system.
6. Building of extensions at expense of the communities benefited, in proportion to the benefit.

In presenting the bill before Congress Representative Sims said:

The heads of the four railway brotherhoods and ten affiliated railway organizations of the American Federation of Labor, numbering 2,200,000 men, have asked me to present this bill. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was instructed on this matter at Atlantic City on June 17 last to "co-operate with the organizations representing the railroad employees."

This it has done, and Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, is honorary President and Warren S. Stone, head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, is President of the Plumb Plan League, formed to urge this bill before the country.

The proposed law would leave the valuation of the railroads to the courts, providing for review on appeal from the findings of a properly constituted appraisement board. By the decisions of this body or of the courts it would pay back every honest dollar put into the railroads, issuing therefor Government bonds at 4 per cent. It would work at every stage by peaceful, constitutional methods.

It would establish harmony between the public interest, the interest of the wage earners, and capital. It would protect the public against exploitation for the benefit of either capital or labor, and it would assure the public of reduction in rates exactly equivalent to any increase in earning power which the employees might create for themselves by the efficiency of

their organization or the skill of their management. This would be the first step in solving the problem of the high cost of living, as the cost of transportation enters into the price of every commodity which is paid by the consumer.

Protection against increased rates, assurance of reduced rates, would inspire industry with confidence; would increase the purchasing power of the dollar and would break the vicious cycle which now exists, whereby every increase in wages is reflected in an increase in the cost of production. The plan itself, without committing myself to the details by which it is to be carried into effect, to my mind offers a solution of the railroad problem much more perfect than any other that has been presented.

THE PLUMB PLAN LEAGUE

The organizers of the movement at once started a publicity campaign of wide scope, setting forth the objects for which the railway employees were fighting. Large sums of money were collected for this propaganda, and it was said that \$10,000,000 would be subscribed. One of the first statements issued by this organization, called the Plumb Plan League, read as follows:

A financial panic is threatened by the demand of the railroad interests for the return of the railroads to private control on terms certain to result in disaster.

The leading financiers of Wall Street and the most prominent railway executives declare that this crisis is coming unless their wishes are complied with. Other equally competent authorities assert that the plans of the railroad interests are certain to result in disaster if the railroads are given back on their terms.

Distinguished officials of our Government, legislative, administrative, and executive, agree that this danger is impending, although they disagree on the best method of averting it.

Upon but one point, apparently, is there harmony of thought, and that is in the necessity for Governmental intervention to save the nation from a financial panic a few years after the closing of the world war. Such a panic would be far more serious than was the panic of 1873, which occurred within ten years after the civil war.

Over 6,000,000 American citizens and voters, through the organized railway employees of America, composed of the fourteen railroad internationals, together with the American Federation of Labor, the Non-Partisan League, various farmers' organizations and civic bodies, support

the Plumb plan as the only rational solution of the railroad problem.

Glenn E. Plumb, the author of the plan, arrived in Washington on Aug. 3. In a public interview he said that the league would form a political party. "Our proposal," he added, "will appeal to the good sense of men of all parties." He also disclaimed the intention to resort to strikes to bring about the legislation desired. The situation, however, was critical, and an increase of wages would only bring a temporary relief; the proposed plan would effect a fundamental reform.

STRIKE OF RAILWAY SHOPMEN

On Aug. 4 the House Interstate Commerce Committee expressed its opposition to President Wilson's proposal of a Federal Wage Commission, with power to enforce rate increases to meet wage advances, and reported out the Cummins bill, restoring the rate-making power to the commission. This decision harmonized with the desires of the brotherhoods.

On the same date a new element was injected into the situation by organized labor, represented by the railroad shopmen, who flatly rejected the establishment of such a Federal Wage Commission, and served notice on the President and on Director General of Railroads Hines that unless Congress provided the money for a cash settlement of their demands the railroad systems would be tied up by a strike not later than Sept. 2. Mr. Hines told the men that he did not have the money with which to pay the increase. The shopmen's representatives, after conferences with President Wilson and Mr. Hines, were in an aggressive frame of mind. B. M. Jewell, acting President of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor, said the temper of the men was such that he did not know whether they could be controlled until the strike vote then being taken was completed.

On Aug. 5 the shopmen sent a second communication to Mr. Hines, reiterating their former position, stating that they must have temporary cash relief, and suggesting that he could obtain the money required if he took the proper measures to do so. The aggregate wage increase asked for was approximately

\$165,000,000 for the shopmen in the total of \$800,000,000 demanded by the brotherhoods and shopmen combined. On Aug. 6 the associated unions sent a long letter to Mr. Hines setting forth their claims for an increase, with detailed reasons to justify them, and urging the passing of the Plumb plan legislation.

Meanwhile, however, many of the shopmen, without authority from their own official organization, had gone out on strike on Aug. 1, and the situation became so serious, combined as it was with a strike threat made by the Association of Railway Clerks, that on Aug. 7 President Wilson took charge of the situation, and after a long conference with Director Hines wrote a communication to the latter in which he authorized him to proceed with the question of wage adjustments, through the authorized national representatives of the employees, but only in the event that the shopmen then striking should at once return to work.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S LETTER

The text of the President's letter is given herewith:

WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
Aug. 7, 1919.

My Dear Mr. Director General: I am just in receipt of the letter from Senator Albert B. Cummins, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, which set me free to deal as I think best with the difficult question of the wages of certain classes of railway employees, and I take advantage of the occasion to write you this letter, in order that I may both in the public interest and in the interests of the railroad employees themselves make the present situation as clear and definite as possible.

I thought it my duty to lay the question in its present pressing form before the committee of the Senate, because I thought I should not act upon this matter within the brief interval of Government control remaining without their acquiescence and approval. Senator Cummins's letter, which speaks the unanimous judgment of the committee, leaves me free and, indeed, imposes upon me the duty to act.

The question of the wages of railroad shopmen was submitted, you will remember, to the Board of Railroad Wages and Working Conditions of the Railroad Administration last February, but was not reported upon by the board until the 16th of July. The delay was unavoidable, because the board was continuously engaged

in dealing with several wage matters affecting classes of employes who had not previously received consideration. The board now having apprised us of this inability, at any rate for the time being, to agree upon recommendation, it is clearly our duty to proceed with the matter in the hope of disposing of it.

You are therefore authorized to say to the railroad shop employes that the question of wages they have raised will be taken up and considered on its merits by the Director General in conference with their duly accredited representatives. I hope that you will make it clear to the men concerned that the Railroad Administration cannot deal with problems of this sort, or with any problems affecting the men, except through the duly chosen international officers of the regularly constituted organization and their authorized committees.

Matters of so various a nature and affecting so many men cannot be dealt with except in this way. Any action which brings the authority of the authorized representatives of the organization into question or discredits it must interfere with, if not prevent, action altogether. The chief obstacle to a decision has been created by the men themselves. They have gone out on strike and repudiated the authority of their officers at the very moment when they were urging action in regard to various interests.

You will remember that a conference between yourself and the authorized representatives of the men was arranged at the instance of these representatives for July 28 to discuss the wage question, and the question of a national agreement, but before this conference took place or could take place local bodies of railway shopmen took action looking toward a strike on the 1st of August. As a result of this action, various strikes actually took place before there was an opportunity to act in a satisfactory or conclusive way with respect to the wages. In the presence of these strikes and the repudiation of the authority of the representatives of the organization, concerned there can be no consideration of the matter in controversy. Until the employes return to work and again recognize the authority of their own organization, the whole matter must be at a standstill.

When Federal control of the railroads began, the Railroad Administration accepted existing agreements between the shopmen's organization and the several railroad companies, and by agreement machinery was created for handling the grievances of the shopmen's organization of all the railways, whether they had therefore had the benefits of definite agreements or not. There can be no question, therefore, of the readiness of the

Government to deal in a spirit of fairness and by regular methods with any matters the men may bring to their attention.

Concerned and very careful consideration is being given by the entire Government to the question of reducing the high cost of living. I need hardly point out how intimately and directly this matter affects every individual in the nation, and if transportation is interrupted it will be impossible to solve it. This is a time when every employe of the railways should help to make the processes of transportation more easy and economical rather than less, and employes who are on strike are deliberately delaying a settlement of their wage problems and of their standard of living. They should promptly return to work, and I hope that you will urge upon their representatives the immediate necessity for their doing so.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON,

Hon. WALKER D. HINES, Director
General of Railroads.

RESULTS OF THE LETTER

Director Hines at once sent the President's letter to Mr. Jewell, with a covering letter, which read as follows:

It is obvious that it is of the highest importance, not only in the interest of the public, but in the interest of the employes themselves, that they shall immediately return to work. The situation having been clarified by the definite indication that Congress does not wish to take action in the premises, the Railroad Administration stands ready to take up the wage question on its merits with the duly accredited international officers and their authorized committee as soon as the employes return to work. Sincerely yours,

WALKER D. HINES.

As a consequence of President Wilson's action, a call was sent out on Aug. 10 by the Chicago District Council of the Federated Railway Shopmen, calling a convention of representatives of the striking railway shopmen of the country to determine definitely what action should be taken regarding President Wilson's request that the men return to work pending settlement of their demands. On Aug. 11 24,000 striking railway car and shop repair men in Chicago, by a vote, continued to resist the President's ultimatum. Elsewhere than in Chicago, however, the strike showed signs of breaking, and a few days later the shopmen nearly all returned to work.

BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE

On Aug. 7 Mr. Plumb appeared before the House Interstate Commerce Committee to testify concerning charges made by him in connection with the Railroad Administration. In the course of his testimony the witness intimated that a revolution, by which he meant general strikes, within sixty or ninety days by the workmen of the nation would occur unless conditions were changed. The men, he declared, had reached the level of diminishing existence. They could not stand any more, and would cease to serve. If a solution were not found immediately it would be too late.

In a statement read to the committee he asserted that railway interests led by "Wall Street" were already beginning a campaign to wreck the systems at the expense of the investors. He declared that facts had come to the labor organizations which showed that there had proceeded a systematized plundering of virtually all the public transportation highways of the United States. He asked that an investigation of these charges be made. He also reviewed the main contentions of the workers which the provisions of his bill were designed to satisfy. Other witnesses of the railroad brotherhoods were also heard. The attitude of the committee was generally hostile to the remedies which the Sims bill embodied.

BROTHERHOODS DISCONCERTED

The brotherhoods and unions backing the Plumb plan, in conference with "leaders of national thought," decided on Aug. 9 to seek a conference with President Wilson at an early date and find out just where the President stood with relation to their proposal. The letter of President Wilson to Director Hines in which he said that the extreme leaders should "act like true Americans," and that strikes would be the most dangerous thing for the country, had made a profound impression in labor's ranks. Stone

and Garretson, the two chief figures in the attempt to force the Plumb plan through Congress, had counted strongly on what they had believed to be their influence with President Wilson and through him with the Democratic Party. The President's letter came as a blow. Before taking further steps, therefore, they decided that a conference with the President was essential to obtain a definite statement from him as to just how far he considered their demands might be approved. On Aug. 10 their former intention to force the nationalization issue through Congress by such drastic measures as open threats against legislators and the calling of strikes was dropped, at least temporarily.

Glenn E. Plumb said that the league would make the Plumb plan an issue in the next Presidential campaign in case Congress refused legislation acceptable to the workmen. It was, however, apparent that much of the defiant attitude of the brotherhoods, in view of President Wilson's emphatic pronouncement, had disappeared.

OPPOSITION TO PLUMB PLAN

Much opposition to the Plumb plan, expressed in the most emphatic and unambiguous terms, was aroused in the Senate and the House by the Sims bill. It was also repudiated by large national organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Ex-President Taft, among other prominent men, declared it to be radically socialistic (an accusation disclaimed by Mr. Plumb while testifying before the House Committee) and an example of the Russian Soviet system. The same charge was made by Senator Myers, speaking in the Senate on Aug. 11. Senator Pomerene, Democrat, Ohio, who had received an intimidating letter from a committee of railroad employes in his State, denounced it as un-American and vicious. The proposed measure caused a storm of protest on many sides and in many parts of the country.

Fighting Profiteers and High Prices

Whole Machinery of the Federal Government Employed to Try to Check the Evils of Unlawful Profits

THE dangerous growth of popular unrest in the United States, due to the alarming expansion of prices of all necessities, reached a culminating point in an epidemic of strikes all over the country in August, 1919. President Wilson finally took the lead in marshaling the Federal Government's powers to combat the evil of post-war price inflation so far as possible. On Aug. 8 he appeared before a joint session of Congress and delivered an address advocating certain measures to lower the excessive cost of necessities of life. Among his main recommendations were the following:

Extension of the Food Control act to peace time, and widening of its scope to cover all necessities.

Licensing of all corporations engaged in interstate commerce to insure competitive selling and prevent "unconscionable profits."

Passage of a law to regulate cold storage, limiting the time of storage, and requiring goods to bear the date of receipt and the price at the time they went into storage.

Provision for a penalty for violation of the profiteering clauses of the Food Control act.

A law requiring that all goods destined for interstate commerce be marked, where possible, with the price at which they left the producer.

Enactment of the proposed law for the control of security issues.

Additional appropriations for Government agencies which will inform the public of the prices at which retailers buy.

He informed Congress that the administrative branch of the Government would take these steps to cope with the situation:

Limit wheat shipments and credits to lower the price of flour here.

Sell without profit surplus stocks of food and clothing now in the hands of the Government.

Draw surplus stocks out of storage and put them upon the market, by legal action wherever necessary.

Prosecute combinations of producers and traders formed for the control of supplies and prices.

Employ publicity, through the Depart-

ments of Commerce, Agriculture and Labor, and the Federal Trade Commission, to acquaint the public with supplies not available because of hoarding and methods of price fixing.

METHODS OF MEAT CONTROL

Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer announced on Aug. 6 that action in the Federal courts charging violation of the anti-trust laws was to be brought against the meat-packing industry, represented by the Chicago "Big Five," in connection with the Administration's fight to bring down living costs. In a formal statement Mr. Palmer said that investigations made by the Federal Trade Commission indicated a "clear violation of the anti-trust laws."

The Federal Trade Commission, in its report to President Wilson on the packing industry, made these specific charges concerning the "manner in which the meat combination works now."

1. That Swift & Co., Armour & Co., Morris & Co., Wilson & Co., Inc., and the Cudahy Packing Company are in an agreement for the division of live stock purchases throughout the United States according to certain fixed percentages.

That this national live stock division is reinforced by local agreements among the members of the general combination operating at each of the principal markets, as at Denver, where Armour and Swift divide their live stock "fifty-fifty."

That these national and local live stock purchase agreements constitute a restraint of interstate commerce in live animals and in the sale of meats and other animal products, stifling competition among the five companies, substantially controlling the prices to be paid to live stock producers and the prices to be charged to consumers of meat and other animal products and giving the members of the combination unfair and illegal advantages over actual and potential competitors.

2. That the five companies exchange confidential information which is not made available to their competitors and employ jointly paid agents to secure information which is used to control and manipulate live stock markets.

3. That the five companies act collusively through their buyers in the purchase

of live stock, their specific collusive activities embracing:

(a) "Split-shipments" purchases, whereby, through the interchange of information, the split lots are made to sell at the same price on different markets regardless of how many packers are involved in marketing the purchase.

(b) "Part purchases," whereby two or more packers join in purchasing the live stock of one shipper or producer, each taking a part of a shipment at the same price.

(c) "Wiring on," whereby a shipper who forwards his live stock from one market to another for the purpose of securing a better price is punished regardless of which packer he sells to in the second market.

(d) Making the daily market whereby a common live stock buying policy for all the big packers at the principal markets substantially controls the basic prices to be paid throughout the United States.

Late buying, where all the buyers of the big packers stay out of the market for one or more hours after the opening for the purpose of depressing prices, is one of the means in making the market.

4. That Swift & Co., Armour & Co., Morris & Co., and Wilson & Co., Inc., through their subsidiary and controlled companies in South America, combined with certain other companies to restrict and control shipments of beef and other meats from South America to the United States and other countries.

5. That the five companies act collusively in the sale of fresh meat, their specific collusive activities embracing:

(a) Exchange of information regarding "margins" realized in the sale of meat;

(b) Inspection of one another's stocks of fresh meats; and

(c) Joint action in underselling independent competitors by a system of rotation, each of the members of the combination in turn assuming the burden of cutting prices to the competitors' customers.

6. That there is a joint combination regarding funds expended under secret control to influence public opinion and Government action, and thus to maintain the power of their combination.

7. That the agreements, understandings, and pools hereinbefore recited are reinforced by the community of interest among the five companies above named through joint ownership, either corporate or individual, of various enterprises. Two or more of the five interests thus have joint ownership or representation in 108 concerns, as far as ascertained to July, 1918.

The average cost per family a year for twenty-two principal articles of food in New York City, in June, 1919, was

\$662.77. This was 84 per cent. greater than the average for 1913, according to figures made public Aug. 6 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor.

In the City of Washington the increase in the cost of these articles from 1913 to June, 1919, was 92 per cent., one of the highest recorded for any city embraced in the list.

The articles upon which the above costs were based, weighted according to quantity used, are: Sirloin steak, round steak, rib roast, chuck roast, plate boiling beef, pork chops, bacon, ham, hens, fresh milk, butter, cheese, lard, eggs, bread, flour, corn meal, rice, potatoes, sugar, tea, and coffee.

SELLING ARMY FOODSTUFFS

Arrangements for the sale of surplus army foodstuffs through the Postmasters of the country were made by the War Department on July 30. Secretary Baker said that a price list covering the entire available surplus would be prepared at once by Assistant Secretary Crowell. This list would be sent out to each of the 54,000 Postmasters of the country and to every rural route carrier.

The Postmasters and carriers, under arrangements made at a conference of the War and Postal Departments, were to act as Government salesmen, informing interested consumers of the prices and methods of sale and taking orders for the foodstuffs. The surplus food, consisting of canned vegetables and meats, began to be sold within a week at prices representing the cost to the Government plus postage.

The foodstuffs were distributed by parcel post, and the prices quoted at each Post Office represented the original cost of the foodstuffs to the Government and the parcel post transportation charges from the nearest War Department depot having the foodstuffs in storage. The prices quoted, officials said, were considerably below prevailing market prices.

Hearings before a House committee showed the value of the surplus available on July 8 to be approximately as follows: Canned vegetables, \$23,000,000; corned

beef, \$24,000,000; bacon, \$23,000,000; hashed corn beef, \$10,000,000; roast beef, \$20,500,000; fresh frozen meats and poultry, \$20,000,000.

FAIR PRICE COMMITTEES

In a dispatch to the State Food Administrators on Aug. 10 in connection with the "fair prices" campaign, Attorney General Palmer said:

In order to secure accurate information relative to charges of profiteering by dealers in the necessary commodities, it is the desire of the Government to ascertain whether such dealers are making more than a fair margin of profit. Will you assist in your States by requesting those persons who have been county food administrators under your jurisdiction to appoint fair price committees, including one retailer of groceries, one of dry goods, a representative of the producers, of organized labor, of housewives, two or three representatives of the public generally, and also a wholesale dealer when practicable.

Please request them to pursue approximately the same inquiries with reference to food products and ordinary necessities of dry goods and clothing that were pursued by your fair price committees under the Food Administration act. This committee will be an extra-legal body without power to summon witnesses or fix prices. It is requested, however, to ascertain the cost prices, to determine the fair margin of profit, and if retail prices are in excess of what the committee regards a fair price, to have published its list of fair prices, reporting to you for review. You are requested to report to the Department of Justice a general review of the situation in your State.

Any evidence of hoarding or other violations of the Food Control act which may be developed in the work of such committees should be turned over to the United States Attorney, who will be instructed to employ all his resources as well as those of the Bureau of Investigation to co-operate with you and your committees in seeking out and punishing all violators of the law. There is a pressing necessity for the restoration of normal conditions, and it is believed that through the same organization you had as Federal Food Administrator you and your county administrators, together with their appointees, can render a valuable service to the country, and your co-operation and theirs without compensation will be greatly appreciated.

The widest publicity of this movement and the results obtained by the county committees, it is believed, will be an important factor in its success. Please wire whether the Government can count upon your co-operation.

A vigorous campaign was begun at once against the hoarding of large quantities of food in cold storage warehouses for speculative purposes. Investigations of contents of storage plants were made in all the larger cities, and Government prosecutors in scores of places began filing libels for the seizure of tens of millions of eggs, hundreds of thousands of pounds of sugar, rice, &c., and thousands of tons of meats. Throughout the month of August this campaign against profiteering continued to be one of the most conspicuous aspects of the nation's attempt to get safely back to a peace basis.

Race Riots in Washington and Chicago

Sudden Outbreaks of Violence

SERIOUS race riots lasting for several days in Washington and Chicago left a toll of dead among both the white and the black participants, and spread a reign of terror throughout both cities never before experienced in their history. The riots in Washington began on Saturday, July 19, 1919. They were occasioned by long-continued and repeated reports of assaults by negroes on white women. Soldiers, sailors, marines, and civilians made violent attacks on negroes

in the Centre Market district, in the heart of the city; negroes were dragged from street cars and automobiles; subsequently these attacks spread to other parts of the city, despite the calling out of the police reserves to quell the rioting. A late report put the number of negroes taken to the Emergency Hospital at fifteen. A series of clashes occurred Saturday night and Sunday, and continued until Tuesday, July 22.

The situation was being held in hand

by Major Gen. Haan, co-operating with the police, when riots broke out again on Tuesday with increased violence; armed and defiant negroes rode about in automobiles shooting at the whites in retaliation, and the mobs got beyond control. Seven men, four colored, were killed, and more than seventy were wounded and sent to the hospitals; hundreds were arrested and heavily fined. Large numbers of soldiers, mounted and on foot, and also marines, policed the city. The riots practically ceased at the date mentioned; District Commissioner Brownlow issued an appeal to all citizens to remain indoors and to do everything possible to avoid further clashes. Secretary Daniels, in an official communication to Admiral Benson, demanded that the names of all sailors and marines implicated in the attacks on the negroes should be reported. The rioting, which lasted for several days, was the most serious since the days following the civil war, when there were riots during the period of the old "Feather Duster Legislature" which met before the present form of Government was organized.

THE CHICAGO RIOTS

A few days later, on July 27, race rioting broke out in Chicago, starting at South Side bathing beaches and spreading into the heart of the so-called Black Belt. The trouble started with negroes wandering over the dividing line to the white section of the beach; the whites stoned them, and a general fight was precipitated. Scores received cuts and bruises from flying stones and rocks. A small army of policemen momentarily quelled the conflict, but both whites and blacks swarmed through the South Side Black Belt, and rioting spread through the district. The rioting continued until July 31, and the South Side was terrorized.

There were many street battles at night, begun by roving bands of blacks and whites, the negroes stormed an armory in an effort to obtain weapons and ammunition. On July 28 five negroes and nine whites were killed in a fierce fight. For more than five hours the battle raged between the two races, and

between the policemen and the blacks, who fired from windows, roofs, and other points of vantage. The next day the fighting continued with unabated fury; a total of 28 killed and 500 injured was then reported. Almost 5,000 troops under arms and the entire police force strove to check the fighters. One negro was riddled with bullets and burned at night.

On July 30 five more deaths were reported, bringing the toll to 33 dead. The renewal of the outbreak caused Mayor Thompson to consent to martial rule. The negroes had secured arms and barricaded themselves within their homes, while crowds of white men armed with guns besieged the Black Belt, waiting for the negroes to come out. On July 31 sporadic outbreaks continued, though 3,000 soldiers had the situation practically in hand. One more negro's death was reported, and six negroes were badly beaten. Thirty-six incendiary fires were started, but the police forestalled a conspiracy to burn the whole Black Belt. Food was got through the crowd to the black district, and fewer riots were reported. By Aug. 1 order had been restored by a military force of 6,000 men. All saloons and clubs were closed.

Willis N. Huggins, editor of the colored weekly, *The Chicago Searchlight*, ascribed the origin of the feud to the large employers of labor, who had imported thousands of blacks into the city; and to the city's failure to provide housing accommodations; he also referred to political exploitation by local leaders, to unscrupulous landlords' profiteering, and to sensational articles in the public press of the country. E. Frank Gardiner, in a long article published in *The New York Times*, laid stress upon the linking of corrupt politics with gambling houses and other places of ill fame, where whites and blacks drank and danced together all night, undisturbed by the Mayor or by the city police.

Many negro organizations, including the Equal Rights League of New York, issued protests against the riots. On July 26, at a meeting of 2,000 negroes held in the Palace Casino in New York, violent speeches were wildly applauded.

American Demobilization Activities

Army of More Than 3,000,000 Mustered Out by the Beginning of August—Returning to Peace Basis

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1919]

THE great armies created by the exigencies of war melted rapidly during July and early August.

Practically all the American soldiers who saw active service in the field, except the units remaining in the Army of Occupation, had left France for this country before Aug. 1.

War Department figures issued Aug. 9 showed that 150,249 officers and 3,015,393 enlisted men, or a total of 3,165,642, had been demobilized since the signing of the armistice. During the same period 83,503 officers and 1,735,281 enlisted men sailed from Europe, and included in that number were 3,178 officers and 140,060 men reported as sick or wounded.

The estimated strength of the army as of Aug. 5, including army field clerks and nurses, but not 886 marines remaining with the American Expeditionary Forces, was 549,918, distributed as follows:

Europe	123,885
Siberia	8,477
At sea, en route Europe.....	945
At sea, en route United States.....	27,231
United States	361,367
United States possessions.....	28,013

Total549,918

New enlistments at that date totaled 96,126, including the following:

For service in the A. E. F. in Europe	12,754
A. E. F. in Siberia.....	2,460
Philippine Department.....	2,923
Panama Canal.....	301
Hawaiian Department.....	1,993
Alaska	193

DEATHS IN BATTLE

Analysis of the final casualty report received from the Central Records Office in France shows that the European war was the most sanguinary in history. Battle deaths among American enlisted men averaged 8 per 1,000, among emergency officers 11 per 1,000, and among regular army officers 14. Of every 1,000 offi-

cers landing in France 330 were killed or wounded. Battle deaths were 37 per 1,000 for graduates of West Point, against 18 for nongraduates. Of the American soldiers, 756 killed in action were victims of gas. The average age of all the men killed was 23 years, emphasizing the youth of the American forces.

Revised battle casualty figures for the American Expeditionary Forces in France were announced by the War Department Aug. 12 on the basis of the final report of the Central Records Office of the A. E. F., as of June 3, showing 2,191 battle deaths among officers, 47,307 battle deaths among men, 6,707 wounded among officers, and 198,983 wounded among men. The revised figures for Americans who were taken prisoner were 316 officers and 4,164 men. The marines suffered the largest casualties per 1,000 troops who reached France. The battle deaths and wounded, as measured against the total number of troops in each service reaching France, were announced as follows:

Service.	Battle Casualties.		Per 1,000 Troops Who Reached	
	Dead and Wounded.	Officers.	Men.	Officers. Men.
Marines	350	9,806	408.3	313.7
Infantry and machine gun.....	6,982	211,119	33.2	262.8
Tank Corps.....	50	354	82.0	38.4
Air Service.....	328	187	57.5	2.5
Eng'r and gas...	290	8,237	52.5	43.2
Art. and am. tr.	592	11,557	47.3	33.5
Anti-aircraft	4	154	29.4	43.5
Signal	41	1,817	25.8	50.4
Police and H. Q. trains	11	376	19.9	24.0
Headquarters ...	62	313	15.6	31.6
Cavalry	5	40	15.2	6.4
Medical	161	1,656	10.4	12.6
Motor Transp't...	8	218	8.1	7.3
Quartermaster ..	10	128	1.8	.7
Pioneer Infantry.	4	299	1.7	3.6
Ordnance	29	..	1.4

The marines had four in each ten of-

ficers, and three in each ten men killed or wounded. The infantry shows only a little less severe rates with more than three in each ten officers and almost three in each ten men killed or wounded. The Tank Corps, Air Service, and Engineers are the next three services in order.

ARMY PROMOTIONS RECOMMENDED

Favorable reports on bills authorizing the appointment of Generals John J. Pershing and Peyton C. Marsh, Chief of Staff, to the permanent rank of General were ordered July 30 by the House Military Affairs Committee. The vote on General Pershing was unanimous, but the committee divided 8 to 7 on General March. Previously the committee voted down, 8 to 7, a motion to confer the permanent rank of Lieutenant General on General March. There was no personal opposition to General March, but some members of the committee expressed decided opposition to creating the permanent rank of General for more than one officer. The measure as drawn provides that General Pershing should take precedence over General March. This was suggested by President Wilson when he recommended the legislation to Congress.

AID FOR DISABLED SOLDIERS

Amended to provide \$14,000,000 instead of \$6,000,000 for the rehabilitation of wounded soldiers, sailors, and marines, the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill, which had been vetoed by the President, was passed by the House and sent to the Senate. The original measure was vetoed by the President on the ground that \$6,000,000 was insufficient to care properly for the country's wounded men. To meet his objection, the House Appropriations Committee increased the amount to \$12,000,000. Democrats insisted on a larger sum, and after Representative Buchanan, Democrat, of Texas, had moved to recommit the bill with instructions to increase the amount to \$18,000,000, Republican Leader Mondell offered a substitute to the motion, increasing the amount to \$14,000,000. This was carried 201 to 194.

Official War Department documents placed before the sub-committee of the

special House committee investigating the War Department by General March, Chief of Staff, were characterized by him as absolutely sustaining the testimony of soldiers previously given to the same committee charging outrageous abuse of military prisoners at detention stations in Paris and at Farm No. 2, at Chelles, near Paris.

INQUIRY INTO BRUTALITIES

General March admitted that nobody "higher up" than Lieutenant "Hard-boiled" Smith had been punished for these offenses, though Colonel Edgar B. Grimstead of the 158th Infantry had been brought before an efficiency board to answer for his responsibility, Farm No. 2 being in his jurisdiction at the time.

The documents submitted included a long cablegram from General Pershing telling of the investigation of the abuses of the courts-martial and of the punishment that had been meted out to some of the offenders. Another document was a report from Colonel T. Q. Donaldson, Inspector General, who made the investigation. Still another was a report from Acting Judge Advocate General Kreger, summing up the information regarding the cases so far received at Washington.

A fourth document was a joint report of Lieut. Col. J. Mayhew Wainwright, Division Inspector of the 27th Division, and Lieut. Col. J. Leslie Kincaid, Judge Advocate of the same division, to General O'Ryan concerning "conditions at Prison Farm No. 2, &c."

On this report General O'Ryan made an indorsement showing that as early as Sept. 12, 1918, he had forwarded "complaints of a similar character" to headquarters, and noting that two months had elapsed since that time, the report being dated Dec. 26.

Colonel S. T. Ansell, resigned, former Acting Judge Advocate General, made his first appearance at this hearing as counsel to the sub-committee and conducted a part of the examination of General March, shaping his questions to bring out admissions from the Chief of Staff that the history of the cases indi-

coated defects in the army system of justice. Chairman Royal Johnson directed his examination of General March to much the same purpose.

LIEUTENANT SMITH SENTENCED

General March expressed the belief that in general the rights of private soldiers are well guarded, but that a man whose commanding officer was such as "Hardboiled" Smith did not have much of a chance. He called attention to the fact that soldiers have the right to communicate directly with the Secretary of War and that large numbers of complaints from privates had come directly to him. He thought that in the hasty assembling of an army of 3,000,000 men it was impossible to avoid selecting some unfit officers.

General Pershing's cablegram, dated July 19, in answer to a request from the War Department for information, gave an account of Prison Farm No. 2, at Chelles, and its prison stockade and the investigation that was started in December. "The result of the investigation," he said, "can be set forth by giving the gist of the charges on which these men were tried. They were the principal, if not the only, offenders."

First Lieutenant Frank ("Hardboiled") Smith, 141st Infantry, who was the commanding officer at Chelles, was tried on some forty specifications, found guilty of a number of them, and was sentenced to dismissal and three years' imprisonment at hard labor, the sentence being reduced to eighteen months by the confirming authority.

Second Lieutenant Charles J. Mason of the 158th Infantry, another of the subordinate officers at Chelles, was found guilty of being drunk and disorderly and also of perjury, and dismissed from the army.

Lieutenant Helphenstein of the same regiment was found guilty of using provocative language to prisoners and of ordering subordinates to inflict brutal discipline. He was sentenced to dismissal, but the sentence was disapproved by the confirming authority.

Sergeant Charles E. Ball, Company M, 110th Infantry, was found guilty of using

provocative speeches and striking, kicking, and slapping prisoners, and was sentenced to dismissal and six months' imprisonment at hard labor.

The reviewing authority said of Prison Farm No. 2 that testimony was introduced showing the conditions at the farm as terrible. There were as high as 1,200 men there, while there was billeting for only 450. It was also said that the morale of the prisoners was very low.

"MILLION-DOLLAR FIRE"

While vast quantities of material belonging to the A. E. F. in France were salvaged and placed in the hands of the Liquidation Commission to be sold at the best prices obtainable, the charge was brought that much was wastefully neglected or destroyed. Especial attention was attracted to the statement that many new and unused airplanes were burned at Colombey-les-Belles, France, in June of this year, and photographs of heaps of dismantled airplanes were published in the press with the caption "The Million-Dollar Bonfire."

Appearing before a Congressional committee appointed to investigate the matter, Sergeant Fred F. Bailey of Manasquan, N. J., testified that he was one of a detail of about fifty men who accomplished the work of destruction. He said:

We were told to take the instruments out of the boards and cart them away to empty hangars. We went to work on about ten planes. We took out the speed registers, the gauges for altitude, and other similar instruments. There were Liberty planes, Spads, Sampsons, and one or two wrecked German planes. We would attach a rope to the fuselage of the plane after the bolts had been taken out of the engine. Then the plane would be pulled over on its nose and the engine would fall out on the ground, a distance of four or five feet, sufficient to wreck it. We did this under orders of a Master Signal Electrician, who was in charge of the work. There was a Lieutenant standing around.

Sergeant Bailey added that the dismantled planes were afterward burned.

Colonel Mason M. Patrick, former Chief of the American Air Service in France, wrote a letter Aug. 5, to Representative Flood of Virginia, the Demo-

cratic member of the sub-committee. The letter contained a full explanation and was in part as follows:

When hostilities ceased there were in possession of the American service planes of varying types and in all stages of repair, from new and unused planes to those which were complete wrecks. The question of their disposition was given careful study.

I at once gave orders to return to the United States all DH-4 planes and all Liberty engines which were serviceable. I cabled to the United States telling the numbers of other types available and asking what I should ship. An answer was received conveying the desired information. In addition, an officer was sent to France charged to examine all material there and to advise me what to send to the United States.

About the disposition of the remainder, I consulted with the duly appointed sales agent of the Liquidation Commission and recommended a method of procedure, which was approved.

I appointed boards of survey, each composed of three officers of ability, who were conscientious and careful. Their orders were to inspect every plane in our possession and to recommend to me what should be done with each one.

This material fell, broadly, into four categories: Planes which had crashed and which were damaged beyond repair. There were many of these. Some had been crashed in battle, some in training at the schools, some in transferring from the assembly plant or acceptance park in France. All of these crashed planes have been gathered in, so as to salvage any part which might be used in repairing other planes or which might have any sale value.

A considerable number of planes had been used at the schools, had been many hours in the air, repaired time after time, and were virtually worn out.

There were others which had deteriorated in storage. The airplane deteriorates rapidly, whether in use or in storage. * * *

After having examined each of these planes the boards of survey arranged them in classes and recommended, in general, that they be offered for sale and, if unsalable, that they be salvaged. By salvaged is meant the taking off of all valuable parts, such as motors, tires, instruments, and the like. The remainder of the planes, the wooden parts and the covering, virtually worthless, would be offered for sale as firewood, or used by ourselves as fuel.

I approved the recommendations of these boards. I inquired of the French Government, and was told that they would not purchase any of this mate-

rial. It was offered by sale by poster advertisements, and as much publicity given to the proposed sale as possible. There was no market for this material. It was, therefore, salvaged as outlined above.

It was required that all parts of value should be removed from the planes with care. Most of this salvage work was done at Pomerantin. A comparatively small amount was done at Colombey-les-Belles. I did not personally see any of this salvage work at the latter place, but I did see much of it at Pomerantin being done properly.

I do not know of my own knowledge that a single usable plane was destroyed at Colombey-les-Belles, but I am well satisfied, knowing the men I had there, that no plane was destroyed which could be disposed of in France, or which would have brought as much money in the United States as it would cost to get it here.

The salvaging of this material was part of the inevitable waste of war, but the American Air Service in France did everything possible to reduce this waste to the minimum. It is apparent that it was necessary to decide whether it would pay to ship material to the United States. Attention may be called to the fact that the packing of a single DH-4 plane in the United States for shipment to France cost about \$250.

Estimates made in France showed that it would cost there not less than about \$500 to pack a plane; that prior to packing it there would be a considerable expense while the planes were in storage in order to keep them in condition; that there would be the cost of rail transportation and cost of ocean transportation to the United States, with further freight charges and charges for handling after the packages arrived here. Some of the cases which contained the planes which were actually shipped to the United States occupied a space not less than one thousand cubic feet.

DEPORTATION OF ALIENS

A bill to deport undesirable aliens, under which the Government may send home persons now interned in this country, was passed unanimously by the House of Representatives on July 30. The measure is designed to tighten existing deportation laws, and under its terms aliens who may be deported include enemy aliens at present interned as dangerous, but not convicted of crimes, and enemy aliens convicted of violation of various wartime laws.

Chairman Johnson of the committee,

in reporting the bill, said it developed at hearings that there were 517 unconvicted enemy aliens at Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., and Fort Douglas, Utah, and 150 convicted aliens who might be deported upon enactment of the measure.

The House voted down an amendment by Representative Moore of Pennsylvania proposing that "No alien whose property has been seized by the Alien Property Custodian during the war with Germany shall be deported against his protest pending the disposition of his property."

Twenty-five out of 168 enemy aliens brought to this country during the war from the Philippines and interned were placed on board the U. S. transport *Thomas* on July 26 for return to Manila, where they will be allowed to resume their former occupations. While in the United States they were at liberty under bonds ranging in amounts from \$250 to \$100,000. The remainder of the 168 still are in various parts of the United States.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

Secretary of War Baker on Aug. 4 submitted recommendations to the Senate and House Military Committees for a system of universal military training for all eligible youths in their nineteenth year. The proposal was contained in a bill prepared by the General Staff of the Army at the Secretary's direction. In transmitting the bill, Secretary Baker in a letter said that General Pershing had not been consulted and the plan was tentative to that extent.

The department's bill called for a Regular Army of twenty-one divisions and necessary auxiliary services, with a peace strength of 510,000 enlisted men and a war strength of 1,250,000. The reserves to fill up the divisions to full strength would be provided through a modified form of the Selective Service act, under which the National Army was raised for the war with Germany. For training purposes only, youths in their nineteenth year would be called to the colors for a three months' period, to be attached to regular divisions for that time. It was estimated that this would provide an annual class of 600,000 men

to receive intensive military instruction, stripped of all vocational or other educational features.

For two years after training the youths would be required to submit certain reports giving their addresses, changes in status as to dependents, physical condition, &c. They would receive \$1 for each report called for and submitted, thus encouraging the making of reports. In the event of war all men in this status would be called to the colors to fill up the regular divisions and compose the first replacement units. Youths in training would receive no pay, but would receive payment for all expenses and an allowance of \$5 a month for incidentals. No exceptions would be granted except to soldiers, sailors, members of the merchant marine, public or private, or to those mentally or physically deficient.

NATIONAL GUARD

Final plans for the reorganization of the National Guard on a sixteen-division basis, with divisional areas following the same limits as those from which guard divisions were organized for service against Germany, were approved July 16 by Secretary Baker. Major Gen. Jesse McL. Carter, Chief of the Bureau of Militia Affairs, immediately sent notifications to the various Adjutant Generals of the units allotted to their States and of the readiness of the Federal Government to extend recognition after the required inspection was made.

The organization table provides for forty-seven regiments and eighteen battalions of infantry; six regiments, seventeen squadrons, and nineteen troops of cavalry; ten regiments, twelve battalions, and seven batteries of field artillery, and seventy-four coast artillery companies, with additional forces of engineers, sanitary and signal corps.

A maximum expansion to about 440,000 men, of 800 per Senator and Congressman, was provided for, but the units for the time being were to be organized on the basis of sixty-five men per company of infantry, as appropriations for the National Guard for the fiscal year 1920 permitted the organization of the guard

on the basis of only 200 men for each Senator and Representative, giving an aggregate strength of about 106,000.

It was announced on July 23 by the Navy Department that demobilization was progressing satisfactorily. A total of 316,554 enlisted men had been discharged since the armistice was signed, of whom 94,306 were enlisted in the regular service and 222,248 were members of the reserve force who were released to inactive duty, subject to call. More than 22,500 reserve officers were returned to civil life, and 7,124 were still on duty. There still were 7,000 enlisted men of the reserve force on duty, most of them aboard transports. It was expected all of the reserve officers and men remaining in service would be released within two months. The recruiting of volunteers to take the places of the enlisted men was proceeding at the rate of about 5,000 monthly. Both the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets were still short-handed, however.

PACIFIC FLEET GOES THROUGH PANAMA CANAL

The great Pacific Fleet, numbering 175 ships in all, left Hampton Roads, Va., on July 19 for San Francisco. Included in the fleet were eight dreadnoughts, six pre-dreadnoughts, eleven cruisers, and 108 destroyers. The full personnel of the fleet will be 35,800 men.

The most interesting feature of the cruise was the passage of the ships through the Panama Canal. The New Mexico, Arkansas, Texas, and New York were lifted successfully through the Gatun locks July 25. This was the first attempt by a fleet of dreadnoughts to pass through the waterway, and the warships lay anchored in the fresh water of Gatun Lake, eighty-five feet above sea level.

Admiral Hugh Rodman, in command of the fleet, was pleased with the success of the first stage of the canal trip. "The flagship was lifted out of the three locks of Gatun Dam in one hour and seventeen minutes," he said. "Now let us go tarpon fishing near the dam—putting dreadnoughts through the canal is too easy."

The old battleships Georgia and Vermont joined the fleet at Colon. After the New Mexico had oiled at Colon she swung lazily into Limon Bay, whence she took the two ships part of the way to the dam, creeping slowly through the first cuttings of the waterway amid a dense jungle growth like some weird amphibian in a prehistoric swamp.

Nearing the locks, the crew flung landing lines outboard, to which were attached and drawn inboard steel cables that led to the electric "mules" running on tracks on each side of the locks. The whole operation seemed to function automatically, for not an order was heard as the dreadnoughts slid into the lower locks as easily as a shuttle into a sewing machine.

The steel gates astern the flagship closed like great jaws and churning water rose up from viaducts in the bottom of the lock, while the New Mexico was lifted as easily and rapidly as a rowboat. The flagship was lifted out of the next two locks in the same fashion, while crowds standing on top of the concrete lock walls threw bananas and cocoanuts to the ship's crew.

Twenty destroyers went through the canal, passing through the locks in groups of ten. Captain Twining, Chief of Staff, said that the canal had proved its naval value beyond a doubt, as dreadnoughts may be easily moved from the Atlantic to the Pacific with celerity and without trouble.

FLEET AT SAN DIEGO

The fleet was reviewed by Secretary Daniels at San Diego, Cal., on Aug. 7. Every available water craft in the harbor bore capacity loads of sightseers. Every point of vantage in and about the city was thronged, as were also the roofs and windows of downtown buildings that gave a view of the naval parade.

Secretary Daniels and an official welcoming party left the municipal wharf at 7:30 A. M. aboard the destroyer Chauncey, from which they were transferred to the cruiser Montana. The Secretary's ship at 9 o'clock had taken its station off the port for the review. It

required one hour for the vast fleet of dreadnoughts, battleships of lesser type, and twenty-one sleek and speedy destroyers to pass the welcoming party.

Secretary of the Navy Daniels, turning from the bridge of the Montana after the last destroyer had passed, said:

This is realization of a dream I kept constantly in view for six years, since I first came to the Pacific Coast, shortly after induction into office to study naval conditions here. I conceived of an American fleet that was truly an American fleet, equally at home and equal in strength on both coasts. This organization into two powerful fleets is an epoch-making event in naval history and presages the day when the whole fleet, now composed of more than 1,000,000 tons, with 5,000,000 more tons building, will make the magnitude of this review seem small in comparison.

The fleet reached Los Angeles on Aug. 9 and was accorded an enthusiastic reception.

TRIBUTE TO MARINES

The restoration of the Marine Brigade to the Navy Department after its service overseas under General Pershing evoked a notable tribute from Secretary Baker in a letter to Acting Secretary Roosevelt of the Navy Department. The brigade, composed of the 5th and 6th Regiments, which played a large part in turning back the German forces at Château-Thierry and Belleau Wood, was demobilized at the Marine Corps camp at Quantico, Va. Secretary Baker wrote:

I cannot permit this heroic force to terminate its association with the army without expressing to you, and through you to the officers and men of the Marine Corps, the deep sentiment of the War Department and of the army toward it.

The whole history of the brigade in France is one of conspicuous service. When it was finally incorporated into the 2d Division of the American Army, it had early an opportunity to give a heroic demonstration of the unconquerable tenacity and dauntless courage of American soldiers. From then on in successive, almost continuous, battles the Marine Brigade and the division of which it was a part fought sternly and successfully until victory was obtained for the allied armies. Throughout this long contest the marines, both by their valor and their tragic losses, heroically sustained, added an imperishable chapter to the history of America's participation in the world war.

On behalf of the army, I congratulate

the Navy Department, the Major General commanding the marines, those who have been instrumental in the formation and training of this splendid organization, and the officers and men of the organization itself.

Replying on behalf of Secretary Daniels and the officers and men of the Marine Corps, Acting Secretary Roosevelt said that the spirit of co-operation that existed between the army and navy never was better demonstrated than in the participation of the marines in the battles in France as part of the army and under command of General Pershing. Mr. Roosevelt characterized the 2d Division, composed of marines and regulars, as "one of the greatest fighting organizations the world has ever known," and expressed gratification that the pride of the navy in the performance of the marines should be shared by the War Department.

TRANSATLANTIC LINERS

Great interest was aroused by the United States Shipping Board's announcement of the plan to build two mammoth steamers to ply between New York and Plymouth, England. Each of these gigantic ships will measure 1,000 feet in length. This is fifty feet longer than the Leviathan, now the largest vessel afloat. The Woolworth is the highest building in America. If up-ended alongside this structure one of these vessels would tower 250 feet above it.

The beam of the Leviathan is 100 feet; that of the new American liners will be 102. The gross tonnage of the new ships will be 55,000. They are to have a draft of 35 feet, or depth of 74 feet, and are to accommodate 1,000 saloon passengers, 800 second cabin, and 200 steerage.

The crew will number 1,000 officers and men. The vessels are to be of the oil-burning type. They will be driven by four propellers, upon which will be thrown the strength of 110,000 horse power.

The vessels will be built with a view to immediately converting them into commerce destroyers in event of war. For this purpose gun emplacements will be built into their decks ready to receive

gun mounts and their batteries. The afterdeck will also be constructed with a view to transforming it into a landing and launching space for hydroaeroplanes.

These vessels will have Winter gardens, ballrooms, Turkish baths, swimming pools, moving-picture theatres, sun parlors, grill rooms, promenades, gymnasiums, and miniature department stores in which every article wanted by a traveler will be found.

WIRE SYSTEMS RETURNED

Postmaster General Burleson returned the telegraph and telephone systems to their private owners on July 31 by issuing the following order:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
Washington, July 30, 1919.

Order No. 3380.

In accordance with the Act of Congress approved July 11, 1919, and by direction of the President, all of the telegraph and telephone systems, lines, and properties, including all equipment thereof and appurtenances thereto whatsoever, and all materials and supplies taken possession of or received, operated, supervised, or controlled by the Postmaster General under and by virtue of the joint resolution of Congress approved July 16, 1918, and the proclamation of the President, July 22, 1918, are hereby ordered to be returned and delivered to the respective owners thereof at midnight on July 31, 1919, and the supervision, possession, control, and operation exercised by the Postmaster General under and by virtue of said joint resolution and proclamation of the President will cease and terminate at that date and hour.

All such telegraph and telephone companies are hereby directed to close their books as of midnight July 31, 1919, and to proceed promptly to collect all outstanding indebtedness and accounts arising out of the operation of such systems during the period of Government control, and at the earliest practicable time to submit a full account to William H. Lamar, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Wire Control Board.

Each company with which a compensation agreement has been entered into or to which compensation has been awarded, will, if its accounts show an excess over and above the compensation allowed, transmit such excess, together with a statement of account, within five days after the ascertainment of the amount due, to said William H. Lamar, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Wire Control Board, in the form of a certified check

or bank draft, payable to A. S. Burleson, Postmaster General.

All books and accounts kept during the period of Government control shall be preserved by the respective companies and shall continue under the control and supervision of said William H. Lamar, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Wire Control Board, and shall at all times be subject to examination by the auditors and accountants of the Control Board.

All companies under control of the Government with which compensation has not been fixed or concluded by agreement or by operation of orders Nos. 2,980 and 3,175 should at once take up with said William H. Lamar, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Wire Control Board, the matter of the fixing of such compensation, so that the Postmaster General may make his report to Congress upon the operation of the various wire systems on or before Nov. 1, 1919, as required by law.

A. S. BURLESON,
Postmaster General.

ARMY OF OCCUPATION

The Interallied Rhineland Commission decided on Aug. 6 that the American flag would continue to fly from the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein so long as United States troops held a position there in the occupied area. General Pershing recommended that the Stars and Stripes be kept on the fortress, which has been an American garrison since last December. He also recommended that Coblenz be made American headquarters.

All American soldiers, excepting about 8,000 who will remain on the Rhine indefinitely, were out of Germany by Aug. 20. In hastening the withdrawal of the American troops it was announced July 31 that the 1st Division had been turned over to the Transportation Department and that the first units of this division would entrain for Brest on Aug. 12. French troops were making preparations to occupy the semicircular zone as soon as it was vacated by the Americans.

The American forces remaining on the Rhine include the 8th Infantry, headquarters troops, a medical corps, a hospital unit, a company of military police, a company of engineers, a battalion of the 6th Artillery, a salvage company, and several smaller detachments for various duties in connection with the American occupation.

Our War Effort Told in Brief

Official Summary of Activities of United States Reduced to Terse Figures and Handy Charts

Colonel Leonard P. Ayres, Chief of the Statistics Branch of the General Staff in the United States War Department, acting under instructions from Secretary Baker, prepared a 150-page book entitled "The War With Germany: A Statistical Summary," covering the larger aspects of the military action and preparations of the United States in the war. A condensation of the more striking facts and figures in Colonel Ayres's book are here presented, in text and charts, for purposes of convenient reference:

THE number of men serving in the armed forces of the United States during the great European war was 4,800,000, of whom 4,000,000 served in the army.

The United States raised twice as many men as did the Northern States in the civil war, but only half as many in proportion to the population.

The British sent more men to France in their first year of war than we did in our first year, but it took England three years to reach a strength of 2,000,000 men in France, and the United States accomplished it in half of that time.

Of every 100 men who served, ten were National Guardsmen, thirteen were regulars, and seventy-seven were in the National Army, (or would have been if the services had not been consolidated.)

Of the 54,000,000 males in the population, 26,000,000 were registered in the draft or were already in service.

In the physical examinations the States of the Middle West made the best showing. Country boys did better than city boys; whites better than colored, and native born better than foreign born.

In this war twice as many men were recruited as in the civil war, and at one-twentieth of the recruiting cost.

There were 200,000 army officers. Of every six officers, one had previous military training with troops, three were graduates of officers' training camps, and two came directly from civil life.

The average American soldier who fought in France had six months of training here, two months overseas be-

fore entering the line, and one month in a quiet sector before going into battle.

Most soldiers received their training in infantry divisions, which are our typical combat units and consist of about 1,000 officers and 27,000 men.

Forty-two divisions were sent to France.

More than two-thirds of our line officers were graduates of the officers' training camps.

France and England sent to the United States nearly 800 officers who gave aid as instructors.

During our nineteen months of war more than 2,000,000 American soldiers were carried to France. Half a million of these went over in the first thirteen months, the others in the last six months.

The highest troop-carrying records are those of July, 1918, when 306,000 soldiers were carried to Europe, and May, 1919, when 330,000 were brought home to America.

Most of the troops who sailed for France left from New York. Half of them landed in England and the other half landed in France.

Among every 100 Americans who went over forty-nine went in British ships, forty-five in American ships, three in Italian, two in French, and one in Russian shipping under English control.

Our cargo ships averaged one complete trip every seventy days and our troopships one complete trip every thirty-five days.

The cargo fleet was almost exclusively American. It reached the size of 2,600,-

000 deadweight tons and carried to Europe about 7,500,000 tons of cargo.

The greatest troopship among all the ships has been the *Leviathan*, which landed 12,000 men (the equivalent of a German division) in France every month.

The fastest transports have been the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, which have made complete turn-arounds, taken on new troops and started back again in nineteen days.

The problems of feeding and clothing the army were difficult because of the immense quantities involved rather than because of the difficulty of manufacturing.

Requirements for some kinds of clothing for the army were more than twice as great as the pre-war total American production of the same articles.

To procure the articles needed for the army the Government commandeered all wool and some other staple articles in the United States and controlled production through all its stages.

American engineers built in France 83 new ship berths, 1,000 miles of standard-gauge track, and 538 miles of narrow-gauge track.

The Signal Corps strung in France 100,000 miles of telephone and telegraph wire.

Prior to the armistice 40,000 trucks were shipped to the forces in France.

Construction projects in the United States cost twice as much as the Panama Canal, and construction overseas was on nearly as large a scale.

When war was declared the army had on hand nearly 600,000 Springfield rifles. Their manufacture was continued, and the American Enfield rifle designed and put into production.

The total production of Springfield and Enfield rifles up to the signing of the armistice was more than 2,500,000.

The use of machine guns on a large scale is a development of the European war. In the American Army the allowance in 1912 was four machine guns per regiment. In 1919 the new army plans provide for an equipment of 336 guns per regiment, or eighty-four times as many.

The entire number of American ma-

chine guns produced to the end of 1918 was 227,000.

American production of rifle ammunition amounted to approximately 3,500,000,000 rounds, of which 1,500,000,000 were shipped overseas.

When war was declared the United States had sufficient light artillery to equip an army of 500,000 men, and shortly found itself confronted with the problem of preparing to equip 5,000,000 men.

To meet the situation it was decided in June, 1917, to allot our guns to training purposes and to equip our forces in France with artillery conforming to the French and British standard calibres.

Up to the end of April, 1919, the number of complete artillery units produced in American plants was more than 3,000, or equal to all those purchased from the French and British during the war.

The number of rounds of complete artillery ammunition produced in American plants was in excess of 20,000,000, as compared with 9,000,000 secured from the French and British.

So far as the Allies were concerned the European war was in large measure fought with American powder and high explosives.

During the war America produced 10,000 tons of poison gas, much of which was sold to the French and British.

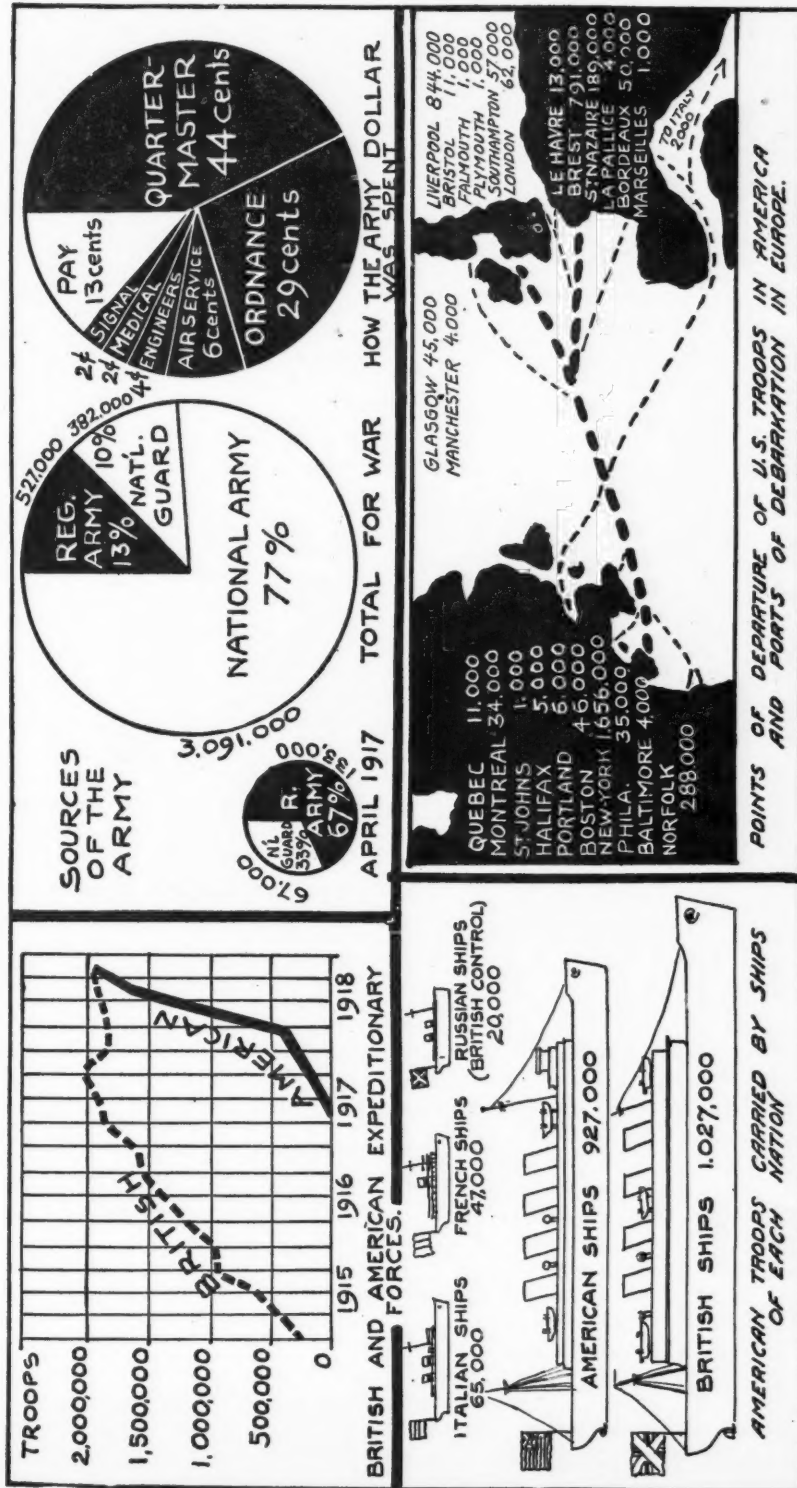
Out of every hundred days that our combat divisions were in line in France they were supported by their own artillery for seventy-five days, by British artillery for five days, and by French for one and one-half days. Of the remaining eighteen and one-half days that they were in line without artillery, eighteen days were in quiet sectors, and only one-half of one day in each hundred was in active sectors.

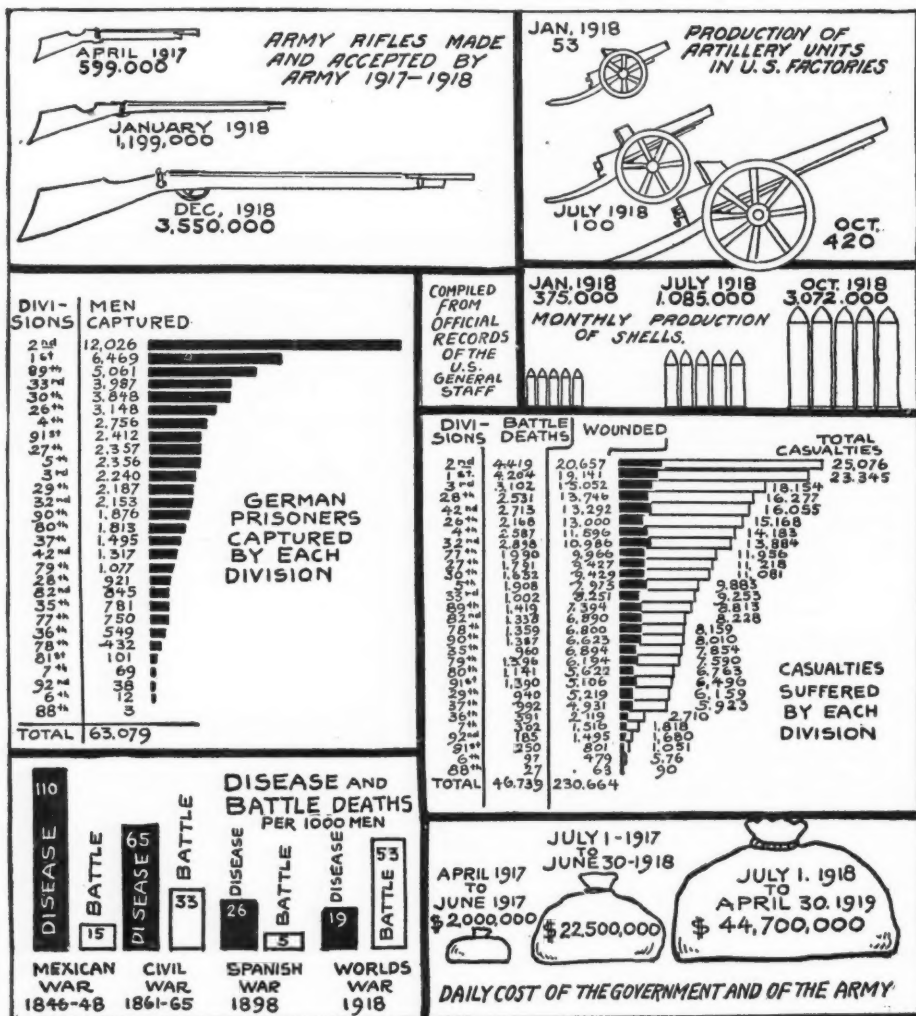
In round numbers, we had in France 3,500 pieces of artillery, of which nearly 500 were made in America, and we used in the firing line 2,250 pieces, of which over 100 were made in America.

On the declaration of war the United States had fifty-five training airplanes, of which fifty-one were classified as obsolete and the other four as obsolescent.

When we entered the war the Allies

Interesting Figures Regarding the American Expeditionary Force Shown in Convenient Form





made the designs of their planes available to us and before the end of hostilities furnished us from their own manufacture 3,800 service planes.

Aviation training schools in the United States graduated 8,602 men from elementary courses and 4,028 from advanced courses. More than 5,000 pilots and observers were sent overseas.

The total personnel of the Air Service, officers, students, and enlisted men, increased from 1,200 at the outbreak of the war to nearly 200,000 at its close.

There were produced in the United States to Nov. 30, 1918, more than 8,000 training planes and more than 16,000 training engines.

The De Havilland-4 observation and day bombing plane was the only plane the United States put into quantity production. Before the signing of the armistice 3,227 had been completed and 1,885 shipped overseas. The plane was successfully used at the front for three months.

The production of the 12-cylinder Liberty engine was America's chief contribution to aviation. Before the armistice 13,574 had been completed, 4,435 shipped to the expeditionary forces, and 1,025 delivered to the Allies.

The first fliers in action wearing the American uniform were members of the Lafayette Escadrille, who were trans-

ferred to the American service in December, 1917.

The American air force at the front grew from 3 squadrons in April to 45 in November, 1918. On Nov. 11 the 45 squadrons had an equipment of 740 planes.

Of 2,698 planes sent to the zone of the advance for American aviators 667, or nearly one-fourth, were of American manufacture.

American air squadrons played important rôles in the battles of Château-Thierry, St. Mihiel, and the Meuse-Argonne. They brought down in combat 755 enemy planes, while their own losses of planes numbered only 357.

Two out of every three American soldiers who reached France took part in battle. The number who reached France was 2,084,000, and of these 1,390,000 saw active service at the front.

Of the forty-two divisions that reached France twenty-nine took part in active combat service. Seven of them were regular army divisions, eleven were organized from the National Guard, and eleven were made up of National Army troops.

American divisions were in battle for 200 days and engaged in thirteen major operations.

From the middle of August until the end of the war the American divisions held during the greater part of the time a front longer than that held by the British.

In October the American divisions held 101 miles of line, or 23 per cent. of the entire western front.

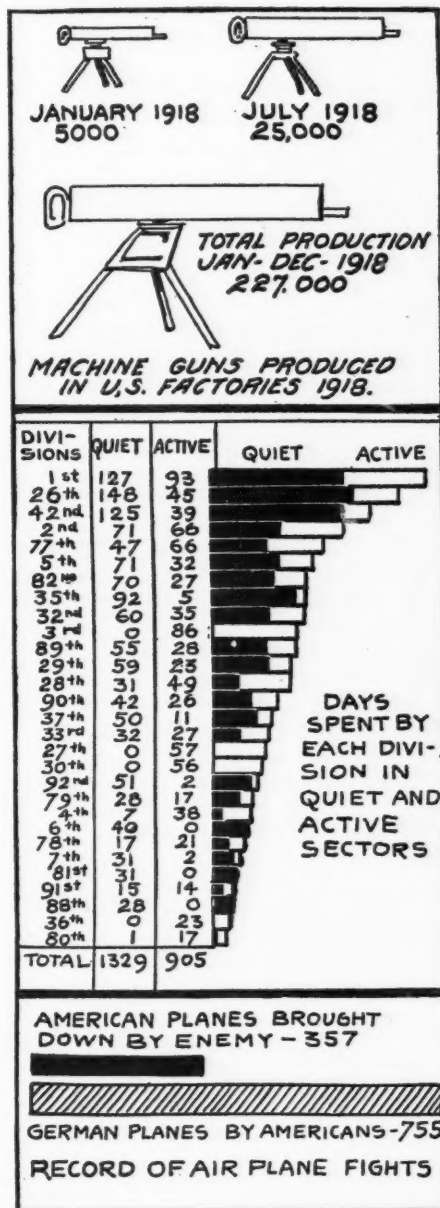
On April 1 the Germans had a superiority of 324,000 in rifle strength. Due to American arrivals the allied strength exceeded that of the Germans in June and was more than 600,000 above it in November.

In the battle of St. Mihiel 550,000 Americans were engaged, as compared with about 100,000 on the Northern side in the battle of Gettysburg. The artillery fired more than 1,000,000 shells in four hours, which is the most intense concentration of artillery fire recorded in history.

The Meuse-Argonne battle lasted for

forty-seven days, during which 1,200,000 American troops were engaged.

The American battle losses in the war were 50,000 killed and 236,000 wounded.



Of every 100 American soldiers and sailors who served in the war with Germany two were killed or died of disease during the period of hostilities.

The total battle deaths of all nations

in this war were greater than all the deaths in all the wars in the previous 100 years.

Russian battle deaths were thirty-four times as heavy as those of the United States, those of Germany thirty-two times as great, the French twenty-eight times, and the British eighteen times as large.

The number of American lives lost was 122,500, of which about 10,000 were in the navy, and the rest in the army and the marines attached to it.

In the American Army the casualty rate in the infantry was higher than in any other service, and that for officers was higher than for men.

For every man killed in battle seven were wounded.

Five out of every six men sent to hospitals on account of wounds were cured and returned to duty.

In the expeditionary forces battle losses were twice as large as deaths from disease.

In this war the death rate from disease was lower and the death rate from battle was higher than in any other previous American war.

Pneumonia killed more soldiers than were killed in battle. Meningitis was the next most serious disease.

The total direct war costs amounted to \$186,000,000,000, and of this sum the enemy countries spent about one-third and those on the allied side about two-thirds. Germany spent more than any other nation, and was closely followed by Great Britain, whose expenditures include those of her colonies.

The war cost the United States considerably more than \$1,000,000 an hour for over two years.

The direct cost was about \$22,000,000,000, or nearly enough to pay the entire cost of running the United States Government from 1791 up to the outbreak of the European war.

Our expenditure in this war was sufficient to have carried on the Revolutionary War continuously for more than 1,000 years at the rate of expenditure which that war actually involved.

In addition to this huge expenditure nearly \$10,000,000,000 has been loaned by the United States to the Allies.

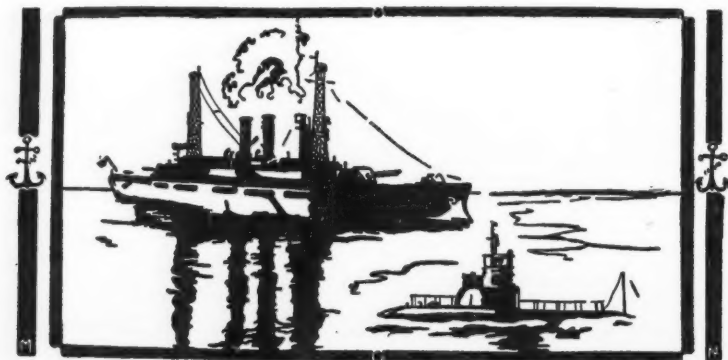
The army expenditures have been over \$14,000,000,000, or nearly two-thirds of our total war costs.

During the first three months our war expenditures were at the rate of \$2,000,000 per day. During the next year they averaged more than \$22,000,000 a day. For the final ten months of the period, from April, 1917, to April, 1919, the daily average was over \$44,000,000.

Although the army expenditures are less than two-thirds of our total war costs, they are nearly equal to the value of all the gold produced in the whole world after the discovery of America.

The pay of the army during the war cost more than the combined salaries of all the public school Principals and teachers in the United States for the five years from 1912 to 1916.

The United States spent about one-eighth of the entire cost of the war and something less than one-fifth of the expenditures of the allied side.



The Middle West in the War

By SAMUEL INSULL

[CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENSE OF ILLINOIS]

Writing for the American number of The London Times on July 4, 1919, Mr. Insull of Chicago gave this luminous account of the slow growth of the war spirit in the Mississippi Valley and the causes that finally turned the scales against Germany:

OBSERVERS from abroad frequently misinterpret the people of the United States by giving undue weight to the impressions they get on or near the Atlantic seaboard. The centre of public opinion in this country, using the phrase in a sense analogous to "centre of population," lies much further west. If it could be fixed by application of a mathematical formula, again like the centre of population, it would probably be found in the great Mississippi Valley, and particularly in that portion of the valley lying north of the line of the Ohio River. A cross-section of Upper Mississippi Valley population would probably represent, more accurately than one taken from any other part of the country, the diverse ancestry of the people of the United States. This racial factor must have due consideration in any attempt to get at the mainsprings of popular attitude and action in relation to the war itself and to future consequences of it.

This territory, embracing virtually a dozen States of the Union, is, first, the "bread basket" of the country. Agriculture is its chief industry, wheat and corn being the great crops. It is also dotted with important industrial centres whose products are known in the markets of the entire world—Chicago, with a population of about 2,700,000; eight other cities of 250,000 to 800,000, and sixty-five of more than 25,000, each an industrial centre in some particular.

FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN PEOPLE

Immigrants from Northern Europe in the last half of the nineteenth century, particularly in the earlier part of that period, were caught and held by the cheap and fertile lands of these prairie

States. Their cities caught a full share of the later influx from other parts of Europe, when natural advantages of location in respect to raw materials, coal, iron ore, and transportation stimulated rapid industrial development. Hence the representative character of the racial strains in this territory.

In most of the larger cities, and all through the agricultural sections, one finds solid neighborhoods and entire communities—towns and villages—where scarcely a word of English is spoken; where traffic in the market places, preaching in the churches, and even teaching in the schools, is (or was prior to the war) carried on in languages other than English. Men who speak English with a pronounced accent are leaders in the community of life and activity—merchants, bankers, manufacturers, public officials. Because they came early in the period of both agricultural and industrial development and were alert to the opportunities of that period, the scions of German and Scandinavian stock have been a relatively large factor; in many localities and communities a dominant factor. Instances of this are numerous in Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota. The counterweight has been made up of French and English strains coming down from the river settlements of Colonial and immediately post-Colonial days, and of pioneer stock from the Atlantic Coast, seeking the prairies through the Cumberland Gap and, further north, via the Great Lakes.

All this was quickly reflected in public opinion when Prussian imperialism ran amuck in August, 1914. The sympathetic response along the Atlantic seaboard to the cause of the Allies was not shared

in the Mississippi Valley. Out here people were not at all of one mind in thinking that right was entirely, or even preponderantly, on the side of the Allies. We know now, as we did not fully realize then, that German propaganda, insidiously carried on for years, was a factor in this attitude; but it was by no means the only one. Many felt that happenings in Belgium and France and along the Russian frontier were simply a European row of which we were merely spectators and with which we were concerned only as it reacted upon our industrial, commercial, and financial conditions. In many newspapers, particularly furthest west, (a conspicuous example was a Kansas City paper which ranks among the most influential in the country,) the war had no more prominence than meetings of the City Council and other ordinary peace-time news.

As the war went on those of foreign birth or ancestry tended to divide sharply along nationalistic lines. For obvious reasons—social, commercial, and political, especially political—the relative strength of German and Scandinavian blood strains inevitably had a tendency to tone down feeling, or at least expression of it, in the remainder of the population.

THE DECIDING INFLUENCE

The various annoyances and encroachments upon their rights to which the people of the United States were subjected through 1914 and 1915, and a considerable part of 1916—fires in manufacturing and munitions plants, bomb explosions, sinking of vessels on the high seas, &c.—did not arouse serious popular resentment. Partisans of the Central Powers were always ready to cite some act of British origin to offset complaint of Germany. The *Lusitania* crime—even that—did not crystallize public opinion. After the first shock, many who were not distinctly pro-German found it easy to believe that sinking the *Lusitania* was a justifiable act of war and that the victims died of their own folly in boarding her.

The people here were first really aroused, I believe, by Germany's impu-

dent proposal to let one American ship a week traverse the war zone unmolested, provided it was painted in a certain way—in "stripes," like a convict. They were next jarred to the heels, had the fog shaken out of their eyes, and were hastened toward participation in the war by Foreign Secretary Zimmermann's note proposing an alliance between Germany, Mexico, and Japan, with a fat slice of United States territory as Mexico's reward. Thereafter determination that Germany must be decisively beaten, to safeguard the United States, grew steadily day by day, to the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918.

The point I would emphasize is this: The United States entered the war in no sense because "blood is thicker than water." The national mind was not made up for war until the rights and freedom of action and territorial integrity of the nation were attacked. One may also well ask: Was the national mind swayed, unconsciously perhaps, by the danger, in a German triumph, to English-speaking supremacy and to the institutions which are fostered by English-speaking peoples? But when the significance of what had happened and of what impended was sensed, the people, regardless of the blood in their veins, responded with practical unanimity to the obligations of their citizenship. The exceptions were so few that they were conspicuous and unmistakable.

I may be pardoned for believing that I see this more clearly than some would. Because of my British birth, I know the meaning of "the call of the blood." Hence I can understand, better than some perhaps, the conflicting emotions which the war and the imminence of this country's participation in it brought to a large part of the people here.

PATRIOTISM OF ALL CLASSES

The body of the people, racially diverse in origin, as I have suggested, assumed and discharged the duties and obligations and sacrifices imposed by the war in a measure that often surprised other parts of the country. Resistance to the draft, for example, was freely predicted. Nearly all important news-

papers on the Atlantic Coast sent correspondents out here to report "the draft riots" that were expected when the young men of 21 to 30 years, inclusive, were called to register on June 5, 1917, for military service. The draft was effected without the aid of soldiers, Sheriffs, or even policemen; and it was more like a general voluntary enlistment than a draft.

The people responded to every other war obligation with equal readiness. By States, by counties, by cities, by villages, they organized themselves for doing all of the things helpful to winning the war. Farmers planted their fields not with an eye to obtaining the most profit, but to producing the crops which the Government food authorities said were most needed. Government loans were taken promptly. Food and fuel restrictions, imposed by the Government but supported by laws and Governmental machinery wholly inadequate to compel observance, were voluntarily accepted and observed.

Take my own State of Illinois as an example. With about 5.5 per cent. of the country's population, it took about 7 per cent. of all Government loans, at the rate of more than \$206 per capita, and gave outright to the Red Cross, the Y.

M. C. A., and other officially recognized war relief and aid organizations nearly \$45,000,000. The Government asked for more wheat in 1918, and Illinois increased its previous year's wheat crop by 70 per cent.; for more barley, and the previous year's crop was doubled; for more rye, and the previous year's crop was quintupled. Other States responded in like manner. In many villages and hamlets the entire male population of military age enlisted in army or navy. Communities in which voluntary enlistments left no quota to be filled by the selective draft were not at all uncommon.

Out of their war experience and the profound thought provoked by war, this people has come to realize, I believe, the necessity of co-operating in world affairs with English-speaking peoples elsewhere.

There is still one factor, however, that retards this co-operative inclination, namely, the question of Ireland. This is bound to be an irritating factor in relations between the United States and Great Britain until disposed of on a basis that appeals both to the head and to the heart of the great mass of people over here.

King Ferdinand Expelled From Austria

SOON after the cessation of hostilities between Bulgaria and the Allies, following the breaking of his pledge to the Central Powers not to make a separate peace, King Ferdinand took up his residence at his castle Ebenthal, near Vienna. The Grand Chamberlain, Count Berchtold, was immediately dispatched to serve notice on the Bulgarian monarch that he must leave Austrian territory at once. The King was in bed; awakened, he sat up on his bed, revealing mauve silk pajamas, daintily embroidered, golden bracelets on his wrists, jeweled rings on

his fingers, and energetically protested his loyalty to Austria, to attest which he called his son "Kikki" (Cyril) and his General, who spoke only Bulgarian. Assured by Berchtold that his stay was dangerous, he finally called his automobiles and departed. Ferdinand definitely abandoned the Bulgarian throne to his eldest son Boris. When the defeated Bulgarian soldiers returned home, and mutinied near Sofia, Boris went to them boldly, and by his words and demeanor won them over to his ascension of the throne.

American Military Decorations

By EDWIN CARTY RANCK

DURING the latter part of February, 1918, great interest was manifested by our soldiers in France regarding the announcement that President Wilson, as Commander in Chief of the American Army, had authorized the awarding of decorations for bravery and meritorious conduct to members of the American Expeditionary Forces. In addition to a Distinguished Service Medal and a Distinguished Service Cross, the bestowal of wound chevrons and war service chevrons was authorized; likewise a bronze oak leaf and a silver star for additional citations in War Department orders. New regulations regarding the award of the Medal of Honor "during the present emergency" were also approved by the President.

The Distinguished Service Cross is of bronze. On each arm is an oak leaf with a star at the stem. In the centre of the cross is an eagle and on a scroll below the eagle are the words: "E Pluribus Unum." On the reverse side is a laurel wreath transversed by an ornamental staff and crossed by a panel inscribed "For Valor." The ribbon to which it is attached is of royal blue, edged with stripes of white and red. It was awarded by the President, or in the name of the President, by the Commanding General of the American Expeditionary Forces, to any person who, while serving in any capacity with the army, should distinguish himself or herself, or who, after April 6, 1917, distinguished himself or herself by extraordinary heroism in connection with military operations against an armed enemy of the United States under circumstances which did not justify the award of the Medal of Honor. The Distinguished Service Medal also is of bronze and was awarded by the President, or his representative, to any person who, while serving in any capacity with the army, distinguished himself or herself by exceptionally meritorious service.

WAR SERVICE CHEVRONS

The war service chevron, of gold and standard material and design, is worn on the lower half of the left sleeve of all uniform coats except fatigue coats, by each officer and enlisted man who served six months in the Advance Zone, and an additional chevron is worn for each six months of similar service thereafter. Officers and enlisted men of the Aviation Service on combat flying duty in Europe were credited for the war service chevron with the time they had been on that duty.

A gold chevron, of pattern identical with that of the war service chevron, is worn on the lower half of the right sleeve of all uniform coats except fatigue coats by each officer and enlisted man who received a wound in action, and an additional chevron is worn for each additional wound. Not more than one chevron is worn for two or more wounds received at the same time. Disablement by gas, necessitating treatment by a medical officer, was considered a wound.

The Distinguished Service Cross and the Distinguished Service Medal could be awarded posthumously to persons killed in the performance of acts meriting such award, or to persons whose death from any cause occurred prior to such award. The medal so awarded was issued to the nearest relative of the deceased person.

FOR ADDITIONAL CITATIONS

No individual was entitled to more than one Distinguished Service Cross or one Distinguished Service Medal, but each additional citation gave the recipient the right to wear—upon the ribbon of the decoration—a bronze oak leaf of approved design; the right to wear such oak leaf was announced as a part of the citation. Other citations for gallantry in action published in orders issued from the headquarters of a force commanded by a gen-

DISTINGUISHED
SERVICE MEDALCONGRESSIONAL MEDAL
OF HONORDISTINGUISHED
SERVICE CROSS

eral officer are indicated in each case by a silver star three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, worn upon the ribbon of the Distinguished Service Cross.

Recommendations for the award of the Distinguished Service Medal were made to the Adjutant General through regular channels. When an officer or enlisted man was admitted to a hospital for treatment of a wound, or when an officer or enlisted man was treated for a wound without being admitted to a hospital, the commanding officer of the hospital, or, in the latter case, the medical officer who treated the wound, furnished the commanding officer of the wounded person with a certificate describing briefly the nature of the wound and certifying to the necessity of the treatment. This information was furnished to commanders of higher units in the form of certified lists and was transmitted by them to the commanding officers concerned.

Commanding officers were expected to

forward lists in duplicate of those officers and enlisted men in their commands who had been honorably wounded in action, with a statement in the case of each individual, showing the time and the place that the wounds were received and the organization in which the wounded person was serving. Whenever a report was made of an action it was accompanied by this list and by certified copies of the medical officers' statements of wounds. Upon receipt of lists of wounded the Commanding General of the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe was authorized to grant the right to wear the wound chevron. This right was confined to those authorized to do so by letter from the Adjutant General of the army or from the Commanding General of the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe.

In awarding a Medal of Honor the Commanding General was instructed to cable his recommendation to the War Department and wait for the department's ap-

proval; but in cases where a person recommended for the award of the Medal of Honor was, at the time, apparently fatally wounded, the Commanding General of the American Expeditionary Forces was authorized to act immediately as the representative of the President, reporting his action later by cable. Each award, with a statement of the circumstances, was announced in general orders of the War Department. The Medal of Honor could be awarded posthumously.

FOR MEN BACK OF LINES

There was a controversy over the awarding of the service chevrons that was not settled until the last week in April, 1918, when Washington definitely decided that the gold service chevron could be worn by every member of the American Expeditionary Forces, one for each six months of service in the theatre of operations. The question had been raised whether men serving back of the lines were as much entitled to wear these service chevrons as the men actually in the fighting zone. This decision from Washington stopped all surmise on the subject. A man in the S. O. S., which was the new name for the line of communications, could display his gold service chevron as well as any battle-scarred veteran.

It was also definitely decided by Washington that any member of the American Expeditionary Force leaving the theatre of operations prior to completing six months' service therein was entitled to wear a blue cloth chevron as a mark of such service in the theatre of operations.

Members of the American Expeditionary Force serving with units of other armies—such, for instance, as American hospital units with the British forces—were eligible for the service chevron under the same conditions as in the case of any other American soldier.

It was for company and other higher unit commanders to determine what officers and men of their command were entitled to wear the chevron and so to announce in orders from time to time. Any individual officer or enlisted man who was not provided for in this manner could forward to General Headquarters,

American Expeditionary Forces, a request for permission to wear the chevron, accompanied by details as to service. In no case could the chevron be worn unless the necessary authority had been given by the proper commander.

However, even as late as May, 1918, there had been so much misunderstanding as to the distinction between the Medal of Honor, the Distinguished Service Corps, and the Distinguished Service Medal that General Headquarters issued a bulletin illustrating by examples the high standards of gallantry and service which had been set for these awards and instructing army officers in the proper method of recommendations and in the ceremony to be held when the decorations were presented.

THE MEDAL OF HONOR

The Medal of Honor is the nearest American equivalent to the British Victoria Cross, the highest honor conferred upon a British soldier. Whereas the Distinguished Service Cross and the Distinguished Service Medal were both open to the officers and enlisted men of our allies, the Medal of Honor was for Americans only. In order to win this greatly coveted decoration, a soldier must have performed some deed of extraordinary bravery and self-sacrifice, something so conspicuous as to single him out and make his name, like that of Abou Ben Adhem, lead all the rest. The bulletin issued by General Headquarters cited instances where awards of a similar high nature had been made in the armies of our allies. Two of these instances were:

Lieutenant — took command of his own and another company when both had suffered severely and led them forward successfully in an attack under heavy machine-gun fire. When he saw the battalion on his right held up by the machine-gun fire, he led a platoon to its aid, then went on with only two men to a dugout, which he entered alone, bringing up fourteen prisoners.

Then he proceeded with his two men to another dugout which, with rifle and machine-gun fire and bombs, had been holding up the attack. This dugout was reached and the crew was either killed or captured and the machine gun taken.

The Lieutenant was then attacked from another dugout by fifteen of the enemy under an officer, and one of his men was

killed and the other wounded. Undaunted still, Lieutenant — seized a rifle and shot no fewer than five of the enemy. Then, using another as a shield, he forced most of the survivors to surrender.

Such was the quickness, courage, and resourcefulness of this young officer that he cleared several other dugouts alone, or with one man, taking in all about fifty prisoners. He then fully consolidated his position and personally wired his front under heavy close-range sniping in broad daylight when all others had failed to do so.

Private — was a stretcher bearer, and for three days and nights he strove unceasingly to bring the wounded into safety, dressing them and getting them food and water. He worked in an area which was swept by shell, machine-gun, and rifle fire, and several times he was knocked down and partially buried by enemy shells.

The Congressional Medal of Honor was awarded to 78 of the 1,200,000 men of the A. E. F. who engaged in battle with the Germans. Nineteen of the awards were posthumous. Of the 78 who won the honor 76 were Americans, one was an Englishman and one was a Norwegian. For every 15,400 soldiers who were in action one received the Medal of Honor. Fifty-seven of the number were enlisted men and 21 were officers.

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS

The Distinguished Service Cross, like the Medal of Honor, was an award for gallantry in action. It could be won by any one who distinguished himself or herself by extraordinary heroism against the enemy after America entered the war. It was for great gallantry—but not quite enough to deserve the Medal of Honor. The bulletin of General Headquarters also illustrated how this decoration might be awarded, by citing parallel cases in the armies of the Allies. Two of these cases were:

Lieutenant — gave proof of unhesitating devotion and energy by leading his platoon to the assault, capturing numerous prisoners and presiding over the organization of a captured post in disregard of all danger. While charged with the support and protection of a reconnaissance within the enemy's lines, he gave the best example of calmness, decision, and courage under a particularly intense machine-gun fire. Wounded in this action, he refused to let himself be evacuated and remained in command over his platoon.

Private —, an automatic rifleman of great bravery, remained alone at his post during a hostile attack, firing continuously until his gun was broken by a bullet. Having no weapon with which to resist further, and his Lieutenant having been badly wounded by his side, he put the latter upon his back and carried him in the open over shell-plowed ground under a heavy barrage fire to a first-aid post. He immediately rejoined the remainder of his company still in line.

While the Medal of Honor and the Distinguished Service Cross were for gallantry in action, the Distinguished Service Medal could be given for service involving no participation in action and no question of bravery. It might be awarded to a person who fulfilled a duty of great responsibility behind the lines or even back in the States. It was intended for any one who had distinguished himself or herself by great and meritorious service to our Government in time of war.

When practicable, the actual presentation of a Medal of Honor, a Distinguished Service Cross, or the Distinguished Service Medal was accompanied by a formal review. The persons who received the award assembled on the right of the line between the music and the first company. When practicable, at least one battalion took part in the review. The division commander attended the review and personally presented the award.

After the division commander had completed the review of the troops, the persons to be decorated marched parallel to and fifteen paces in front of the line to a point opposite the reviewing officer. They then changed direct to the right and, accompanied by the colors, advanced in line to a point midway between the division commander and the troops.

The march was conducted by the senior brigade commander and the band played during the march. Then the colors, including the color guard, followed at ten paces in the centre of the line of persons to be decorated and halted in a corresponding position. The brigade commander advanced toward the division commander and saluted, reporting: "Sir, the persons to be decorated are present." The division commander returned the salute and directed that the command be presented.

The brigade commander brought the

command, including the persons to be decorated and the colors, to "present arms," and then the band played "The Star-Spangled Banner," or, if only field music was present, "To the Colors" was sounded. After the music was over, the brigade commander brought the troops to "order arms."

A staff officer of the division commander then read to the command the order announcing the awards, whereupon the division commander, accompanied by his staff, advanced to the line of persons to be decorated, and, after making ap-

propriate remarks, pinned the decorations awarded upon the left breast of each person. Then he directed the brigade commander to pass the troops in review and returned to the position of the reviewing officer. The persons who had been decorated next joined the division commander and formed in line on his left. The colors then went to the color company, and the command, after being marched in review, was dismissed.

Persons to be decorated always formed in line in accordance with their rank, from right to left.

ALAN SEEGER'S FAMOUS POEM AND A REPLY

I Have a Rendezvous With Death

By ALAN SEEGER

[Alan Seeger, a young American who enlisted in the French Foreign Legion before we entered the war, and who fell in a bayonet charge July 3, 1916, left a volume of remarkable war poems, of which this is the most famous.]

I have a rendezvous with Death
At some disputed barricade,
When Spring comes back with rustling
shade
And apple-blossoms fill the air—
I have a rendezvous with Death
When Spring brings back blue days and
fair.

It may be he shall take my hand
And lead me into his dark land
And close my eyes and quench my
breath—
It may be I shall pass him still.
I have a rendezvous with Death
On some scarred slope of battered hill,
When Spring comes round again this year
And the first meadow flowers appear.

God knows 'twere better to be deep
Pillowed in silk and scented down,
Where love throbs out in blissful sleep,
Pulse nigh to pulse, and breath to breath,
Where hushed awakenings are dear.
But I've a rendezvous with Death
At midnight in some flaming town,
When Spring trips north again this
year,
And I to my pledged word am true,
I shall not fail that rendezvous.

You Kept Your Rendezvous With Death

By FRANK E. HERING

[The author of this poetic reply to Alan Seeger's masterpiece is managing editor of The Eagle Magazine, South Bend, Ind. He wrote the poem after a visit to the spot where Seeger fell, near Belloy-en-Santerre, France.]

You kept your rendezvous with Death!
Attended by your bayonet,
You crossed the poppy-fields and met
The edge of dawn, in whose soft glow
You kept your rendezvous with Death,
While vagrant winds blew to and fro.

He drove his lance through your young
side
And fiercely loosed the crimson tide
Whose ebb stole ruthlessly your breath.
With eager step and radiant glance
You kept your rendezvous with Death,
And spent your flaming life for France:
So only might the fleur-de-lis
And the beleaguered Marne be free!

God knew 'twere better you should sleep
A broken soldier on some hill,
Your grave a shrine, than cradled deep
With one you love, breath touching
breath,
Still hear France call, "Christ, send us
men!"

You kept your rendezvous with Death—
At daybreak when the steel was chill
And drowsy poppies nodded, then
On your pledged word, through fields of
dew,
You hastened to that rendezvous.

Fall of the Hungarian Soviet

Bela Kun Supplanted by Moderate Socialists, Then by Archduke Joseph—Rumanian Army in Budapest

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1919]

THE fall of Bela Kun and his Government, which occurred on Thursday, July 31, solved one of the most perplexing problems with which the allied powers had to deal. On July 5 the Council of Five, after due consideration of Bela Kun's equivocal attitude in observing the terms of the armistice, had decided that it was impossible to treat with him and that the blockade of Soviet Hungary must be maintained. The Supreme Council then set itself to devising means of forcing the Hungarians to realize that their future was subject to allied disposition, and not to that of Bela Kun. The military experts were called upon for a report on the military strength of the Bela Kun régime. Meantime, (July 12,) it was announced from Vienna that General Franchet d'Esperey, commander of the allied forces in the Far East, was preparing an advance on the Hungarian capital with 150,000 troops, made up of French Colonials, Rumanians, Jugoslavs, Italians, and Hungarians.

Reports of the disintegration of the Hungarian Soviet army reached the Peace Conference on July 17. By an appeal to the Hungarian people on a purely nationalistic and defensive policy Bela Kun had succeeded in recruiting an army of 150,000 men, with which his pronounced military successes in Slovakia had been gained, and he had already begun plans for the invasion of Rumania. Bela Kun, however, abandoned his nationalistic and defensive policy and began to preach Bolshevism pure and simple. This proved a psychological mistake; many soldiers who had rallied to the flag to preserve Hungary began to desert, and the spirit of revolt became rife in the new army. Demoralization was increased by the discontinuance of military operations against the Czechs and the Rumanians as pledged

by the armistice subscribed to by Bela Kun after the invasion of Slovakia had evoked a virtual ultimatum from the allied and associated powers. Officers of the Soviet army were reported to be deserting at every opportunity, while in Budapest matters had come to a crisis between Bela Kun and the Socialist leaders, with whom the former had broken off relations.

AN ILL-FATED OFFENSIVE

This situation existed when on July 23 Bela Kun, partly, it was stated, to restore the morale of his army, partly with a hope of breaking through to Bolshevik Russia, suddenly began a new offensive, this time against the Rumanians. The Hungarian troops crossed the River Theiss at points between Tokai, 110 miles northeast of Budapest, and Csongrad, seventy-five miles southeast of Budapest, while the river was low. In this crossing the Hungarians used rafts, as the bridges had been blown up by the Rumanians two months before. Bela Kun's troops entered Torok-Sz-Miklos and Szentes, and claimed to have captured a number of prisoners, food and munitions.

Commenting on this new offensive, Bela Kun said he was grieved thus to attack the Allies, but that he had notified Premier Clemenceau that such action was necessary "if the Rumanians did not retreat from the territory given the Soviet by the Peace Conference." Only a few days later, however, (July 28,) it began to appear that this new attack had proved a boomerang; the Red army was being beaten on the Theiss River, which was so low that it could be crossed on foot; the Hungarians had been driven back upon the west bank, and were straggling homeward demoralized. At the same time the Hungarians in Budapest heard that the Czechs were again ad-

vancing. The military fortunes of Bela Kun had begun to enter their final stage.

ALLIES TAKE A HAND

His situation became even more precarious because of a statement given out by Premier Clemenceau in the name of the Peace Conference on July 26 and addressed directly to the Hungarian people, over the head of the Soviet régime. In this statement it was made known to the Hungarian people that they could secure a removal of the blockade and receive food supplies only if they ousted Bela Kun and set up in Budapest a truly representative government. It read as follows:

The allied and associated Governments are most anxious to arrange a peace with the Hungarian people, and thus bring to an end a condition of things which makes the economic revival of Central Europe impossible and defeats any attempt to secure supplies for its population. These tasks cannot even be attempted until there is in Hungary a Government which represents its people and carries out in the letter and the spirit the engagement into which it has entered with the associated Governments.

None of these conditions is fulfilled by the administration of Bela Kun, which has not only broken the armistice to which Hungary was pledged, but is at this moment actually attacking a friendly allied power.

With this particular aspect of the question it is for the associated Governments to deal on their own responsibility. If food and supplies are to be made available, if the blockade is to be removed, if economic reconstruction is to be attempted, if peace is to be settled, it can only be done with a Government which represents the Hungarian people, and not with one that rests its authority upon terrorism.

The associated powers think it opportune to add that all foreign occupation of Hungarian territory, as defined by the Peace Conference, will cease as soon as the terms of the armistice have, in the opinion of the allied commander in chief, been satisfactorily complied with.

It appeared the day following the issuance of this statement that the Council of Five had been in communication with the Hungarian labor unions, the latter having taken the initiative, and that the Council had thus received assurances that Bela Kun's overthrow was imminent and that his Government would be succeeded by a Cabinet of mod-

erate Socialists, with whom the allied powers could negotiate. The note itself was intended to expedite Bela Kun's fall. That he himself was aware of the desperate situation which his Government faced was made clear by portions of a speech delivered by him shortly before at a meeting of the Executive Council of the Soviet, in which he admitted that Hungary was facing a triple crisis—in power, economics, and morale. The crisis in power, he said, was evidenced by the counter-revolution, that in economics by the unbelievable prices of food, and that in morale by official corruption and bribery, which had reached undreamed of limits. To this was added the military crisis precipitated by the attack upon the Rumanians, with whom fighting was still proceeding on July 31. The Hungarian offensive at that date had been completely broken up, and the initiative had passed into the hands of the Rumanians, who had inflicted on the Soviet troops a crushing defeat. Refugees from the front reported that the Rumanians were within twenty-five miles of the capital. It was also rumored that a Yugoslav army was advancing.

At this juncture the Hungarians took matters into their own hands. The People's Commissaries, representing the Soviet Government, visited Colonel Cunyngham, the allied representative, at the frontier, and proposed negotiations for the peaceful resignation of the Soviet and the formation of a new Government. The proposal was forwarded to the Supreme Council at Paris. In answer the Allies, on July 30, demanded the unconditional resignation of the Budapest Soviet Government.

BELA KUN'S RESIGNATION

Events moved quickly thereafter. On Thursday, July 31, Bela Kun went from Budapest to Bruck, on the frontier, part of the way by train and the remainder on a handcar. At Bruck he met General Boehm, former Minister of War, transferred to Vienna, who had returned especially to persuade Bela Kun to resign, and others, who had been conferring with Colonel Cunyngham on the proposal to form a new Socialistic Govern-

ment to replace the Soviet. After a long discussion Bela Kun told them that he would give his decision on Aug. 5. On the same day, however, the deposition of his Government was formally announced, and on Aug. 1 Bela Kun, having returned to Budapest, in an address delivered at a meeting of the Central Workmen's and Soldiers' Council announced his resignation. Showing great emotion, he said:

The Hungarian democracy obviously is not ripe for Communism. The interests of democracy require my resignation and the appointing of a Government with which the Entente will negotiate. I believe this Government will be only an intermediate one, and that it will be superseded by the white terror.

He added that his personal safety did not interest him, although he doubted that he should escape his enemies' vengeance.

Other speakers agreed that further resistance would be futile, and a resolution was unanimously adopted regretting that the leaders had been deserted by the masses of the people nad recommending acceptance of the Government's resignation.

THE PEIDLL CABINET

The personnel of the new Cabinet, which was formed forthwith, and which included provisionally several members of the Bela Kun régime, was as follows:

Premier.....Jules Peidl
Minister of Foreign Affairs.....Peter Agoston
Minister of War.....Joseph Haubrich
Minister of Justice.....Paul Garami
Minister of Welfare.....Alexander Garbai
Minister of Commerce.....M. Dovohak
Minister of Education.....Stephan Szabo
Minister of Home Affairs.....Karl Payer
Minister of Agriculture.....Joseph Takaos
Minister of Finance.....Joseph Miskics
Minister of Food.....M. Knittelhofer

Premier Peidl had been a typographer, an editor and a model worker. Minister of War Haubrich formerly was Chief of Police at Budapest and was reputed to be an anti-Communist. Minister of Justice Garami and Minister of Education Szabo were in the Karolyi Cabinet.

Persons in touch with the situation at Budapest said it was their understanding that the members of the Kun Ministry holding over under the reconstruction were doing so in order to save themselves and their supporters. Be-

cause of their continuance, however, the anti-Communist Government at Szegedin refused to recognize the new Cabinet.

MARTIAL LAW IN BUDAPEST

The news of Bela Kun's downfall was not made public immediately in either Budapest or Vienna. Before it became known in the Hungarian capital, the new Cabinet went into special session to devise means for the prevention of any possible violence.

Minister of War Haubrich was appointed town dictator in Budapest and immediately declared martial law, which was being strictly maintained. Orders were issued requiring every one to be at home by 8:30 o'clock in the evening and directing that any one caught robbing or pillaging should be executed on the spot. All was quiet in the capital. Picked troops were patrolling the streets. The soldiers known as the "Lenin Lads" had disappeared; it was said they had all been arrested.

The Hungarian troops at the front were informed that they might retire, as it was stated in Budapest that Rumanian forces along the Theiss River had received orders from the Peace Conference at Paris not to advance toward Budapest.

Overtures for peace were at once begun by the new Government through Joseph Weltner, President of the Soldiers' and Workers' Soviet of Hungary, who, arriving in Vienna, asked Colonel Cunyngham and the other allied officials there to recognize the new Cabinet and begin negotiations for peace. At the same time the Italian Military Mission at Budapest sent a wireless message to Premier Clemenceau transmitting the new Government's request for an armistice with the Allies on the basis of the recent allied proposals, and also for a delimitation of a provisional frontier line with Rumania on the Theiss River. In its reply the Peace Conference said that it expected the new Government to comply with the terms of the armistice and hoped that the establishment of an orderly Government in Hungary would make possible the resumption of economic relations.

Meanwhile Captain Thomas C. Gregory, United States Food Administrator

in this region, at once began to arrange for food relief for starving Budapest by bringing up supplies from the Banat region and also sending them down the Danube from Austria. Through the efforts of representatives of the Allies a safe conduct was secured for Bela Kun and other members of his Cabinet. They departed soon thereafter to Austria, where they were interned. One of the fleeing statesmen, Tibor Szamuely, was shot at the Austrian frontier.

When the new Government was proclaimed on Thursday night, July 31, and announcement made that peace might now be expected soon, there was a great celebration; the populace responded to the appeal for order, and there were no outbreaks. Hungarian refugees in Vienna held a celebration on receipt of the news of the downfall of Communism, and thousands of Magyars who had fled from their homes during the reign of the Soviet Government began an exodus back to Budapest, seeking to regain possession of what property of theirs remained.

RUMANIANS OCCUPY BUDAPEST

The next event in the kaleidoscopic series of changes occurring in the Hungarian situation at this time was the sudden advance of the Rumanians from the River Theiss and their occupation of Budapest despite the orders of the Peace Conference not to advance, and against the protests of Lieut. Col. Romanelli, the Italian representative of the Allies at Vienna. The Hungarian authorities stated that they believed the Rumanian defiance of the Allies in occupying Budapest was in retaliation for the Hungarian occupation of Bucharest three years before. Newspaper reports stated that General Burescu, the Rumanian commander, had decided to occupy Budapest for strategic reasons. Colonel Romanelli had succeeded in persuading him to content himself with two regiments as the occupying force.

When the Rumanian troops arrived at the city boundary of Budapest they were met by Joseph Haubrich, War Minister in the new Cabinet, and the Burgomaster. General Burescu informed them that he had instructions to occupy only the coun-

try up to the city boundaries and that he would not interfere with the preservation of order in the capital. Minister Haubrich placed two cavalry barracks in the outer confines of the city at the disposal of the Rumanians, and issued an order enjoining the inhabitants to maintain good behavior toward the Rumanians on pain of severe penalties. At the same time he agreed with General Burescu to demobilize and disarm the Red army immediately, except for 14,000 soldiers in Budapest and 20,000 in the remainder of the country to preserve order.

On Aug. 4, however, the Rumanians took possession of the city. Thirty thousand Rumanian troops, including infantry, cavalry, and artillery, entered the city with great pomp amid a blare of trumpets. Led by General Marghascu, the Rumanian forces passed through Andrassy and other streets of the Hungarian capital. Through Colonel Romanelli they notified the Hungarians that they would remain to keep order, occupied forthwith all public buildings, and assumed military command of the city. Hostages were taken from among the citizens, and it was announced that five Hungarians would be shot for every Rumanian killed. Dispatches from American officials said that the Rumanians had cut off the city from food supplies by severing the five lines of communication from east and south and by interfering with the plan of bringing in American foodstuffs; Rumanian soldiers were looting in the suburbs, requisitioning supplies, driving off cattle, and fifteen Hungarians had been killed.

The attitude of the Rumanian commander, Colonel Holban, toward the Allies was one of defiance.

RUMANIAN ULTIMATUM

The seriousness of the situation thus engendered was emphasized by Captain Gregory, the American Food Administrator, on Aug. 5; if the situation was not relieved by the withdrawal of the Rumanians, he warned, the new Hungarian Government would inevitably fall. Events proved that he was right. On the same date the allied powers sent instructions to the Interallied Military Mis-

sion at Budapest to effect a withdrawal of the Rumanian forces from the Hungarian capital as soon as the Red Guard was disarmed.

A crisis, however, was precipitated by the serving on the new Cabinet of an ultimatum by the Rumanians. By the terms of this ultimatum, which expired Aug. 6, demands were made far in excess of the armistice provision; the reduction of the Hungarian army to 15,000 men; the surrender of 30 per cent. of the harvest animals and farm machinery; 50 per cent. of the railway supplies; a large proportion of the Danube shipping; equipment and supplies for an army of 300,000 men. On the receipt of these tidings, which showed the Rumanians violating all their promises to the Peace Conference, the Rumanian representative, Nicholas Misu, was summoned before the conference.

ALLIED NOTE TO RUMANIA

The explanations offered by M. Misu were considered unsatisfactory, and the following vigorous note was handed him for transmission to his Government:

Following the fall of the Bela Kun Government and its displacement by a Socialist Government, the Supreme Council on Aug. 5 sent to Budapest a commission of four allied Generals to enforce the armistice of November, 1918, and also to meet the heads of the Rumanian and Serbian armies in order to protect the occupied territory and regulate the conditions of occupation. These decisions were brought to the attention of the Hungarian Government by telegram, and at the same time to the Rumanian Generals, the Rumanian Government, and the Serbian Government.

On Aug. 6 the Supreme Council, having heard that the Rumanian authorities at Budapest proposed to impose on the Hungarian Government an armistice contrary to the armistice concluded in November with Hungary in the name of the allied powers and in violation of the general rights of the Allies, in so far as reparations are concerned, advised the Rumanian Government that it refused to recognize the right of the Rumanian Generals to conclude an armistice without the authorization of the allied powers.

At the same time the Rumanian Government was placed on its guard against taking any action contrary to humanity or to its authority which might be committed by Rumanian troops, the council also demanding that the Rumanian Gen-

eral in Chief be given orders to conform to the directions of the commission of Generals representing the conference and acting by delegated authority.

The Peace Conference has not yet received a direct reply from the Rumanian Government. It learns that the Rumanian Generals refuse to comply with the instructions of the allied Generals and have prevented publication of the telegram addressed by the President of the Peace Conference to the Hungarian Government.

They also are permitting their soldiers to pilfer private property and have requisitioned and are sending into Rumania live stock and rolling stock, submitting Budapest to an unnecessary blockade which is starving the city. They are destroying the railway lines, in particular one from Budapest to Vienna. In fact, they are committing a series of actions which are as much in violation of the decision of the conference as of the rights of the allied and associated powers, and likewise, primarily, of humanity.

The Supreme Council learns at the same time that the Socialist Hungarian Government was overthrown by a coup d'état, its members arrested, and the Government replaced by one having Archduke Joseph at its head. In view of these facts, the conference is compelled to believe the Rumanian Government is determined to defy the conference and separate itself from the allied and associated powers.

In the event that the conference errs in this belief, it requests the Rumanian Government to deny these statements at once, not by words, but by actions which can publicly prove that Rumania accepts and is ready to execute in good faith the policy decided upon by the conference.

From Paris on the same date it was stated that the Allies would make no further move until receipt of the report of the Interallied Military Commission. General H. H. Bandholtz, Provost Marshal of the American forces in France, was selected as the American member of this commission, and was to start for Hungary forthwith. The British member had already left. The commission was to examine the situation as it existed under the new Peidl Government, report on the effect of the presence of the Rumanian troops and also on the advisability of sending allied troops, as requested by the Hungarians themselves, to help maintain order while the Government was gaining strength. (Small British, French, and American forces entered Budapest on Aug. 5-6.)

ARCHDUKE SEIZES POWER

While Budapest, thus occupied by the Rumanians, was slowly awakening from its Red nightmare, and the hotels were rapidly filling with refugees from Vienna and elsewhere, amazed at the picture of desolation and destruction which the erstwhile beautiful city presented after the departure of the Communists, who had stripped it bare; while the Peidl Cabinet was announcing that it had turned its back on Communism and was striving to face and resolve the many problems of reconstruction that confronted it, including the disposition of the Rumanian ultimatum, a new turn of the political wheel brought another change. On Aug. 7 the Peace Conference received word that the Hungarian Cabinet had been overthrown by a coup d'état effected without disorder, and that Archduke Joseph had established a new Ministry in Budapest. An official statement issued by the French Government read as follows:

Hungarian gendarmes surrounded the palace in Budapest and arrested the Government at 6 o'clock yesterday evening, (Aug. 6.) Archduke Joseph assumed power, with the title of Governor of the State, and announced that he would form a Coalition Cabinet.

A later statement gave the names of Stephen Friedrich as Premier, and of two Generals, Schnitzer and Tanezos, respectively as Minister of War and of Foreign Affairs. Professor Bleyer was made Minister of Nationalities, and Dr. C. Sillery Minister of Health. Portfolios had also been offered to Agrarians and Social Democrats, and also to members of the Szegedin Government. It was stated on the same date that the Archduke had taken over control of the city on the authority of the Entente powers, with whom he had established a complete agreement, the terms of which had been cabled to Premier Clemenceau. Subsequently the Archduke issued a proclamation appealing to all classes to help him in his fight to put down anarchy and to establish order with a strong hand. The proclamation read in part as follows:

I cannot look on while politicians and various interests and party groups quar-

rel over the fate of our poor, broken fatherland. Everywhere there is complete anarchy—risings in trans-Danubia, a Ministry in office that has recognized no one, and a complete stoppage of the food supply, threatening a catastrophe unless the Hungarian educated classes and the agricultural population establish order with a strong hand.

Impelled by the imperishable love which binds me to the Hungarian people, and looking back over the common suffering of the past five years, as well as responding to the wishes which have reached me from all sides, I have taken a hand in the solution of a situation which already seemed impossible.

JOSEPH, ARCHDUKE,
Field Marshal.

After various consultations with allied representatives, including General Gordon of the British forces that entered Budapest on Aug. 6, and Colonel W. B. Causey, U. S. A., attached to the Relief Administration in Budapest, as well as Lieut. Col. Romanelli of the Italian Mission, Archduke Joseph and his Generals called upon the Allies in a group. He presented his plan for a new Government, which was tacitly accepted.

HAD RENOUNCED ROYALTY

Archduke Joseph was a commander of Austro-Hungarian forces on the southern section of the eastern battlefield during the first two years of the great war, with the rank of Field Marshal of Austria.

In 1918 he headed a movement looking to the securing of independence for Hungary from Austria, and when the collapse of the Dual Monarchy came, in November, 1918, he was asked by Emperor Charles of Austria to take charge of the situation and find a solution of the political crisis before the country. With his son, Archduke Joseph Francis, he renounced all rights as a member of the royal house and took the oath to submit unconditionally to the orders of the Hungarian National Council. Later both took the oath of fealty to the new Government.

Archduke Joseph was born at Alosuth on Aug. 9, 1872. On Nov. 15, 1893, he married in Munich Princess Augustine of Bavaria. In addition to Joseph Francis they have three children, Archduke Ladislas and the Archduchesses Sophie

and Madeleine. Their home was in Budapest.

Archduke Joseph frequently has been referred to as the most popular member of the Hapsburg family. He did much work among the poor and unfortunate, particularly in the Hungarian capital. He is a doctor of law and doctor of technical sciences of the University of Budapest and doctor of medicine of the University of Kolozsvár.

Stephen Friedrich, according to sketches of him published in Berlin, spent eight years in the United States as a workman in machinery plants. He became an engineer and owner of a machinery factory. Upon his return to Hungary he was active in politics for seven or eight years, but did not hold office. A follower of Count Karolyi, he accompanied the latter to the United States in 1914, and was interned with him in France on their return. On his return to Budapest he became Minister of War under Count Karolyi. Despite the virtual dictatorship given Archduke Joseph, the appointment of Herr Friedrich was interpreted as assurance that the new Government would be bourgeois-democratic, and not monarchistic in tendency.

MAGYAR AND FOREIGN COMMENT

The effect of the Archduke's seizure of power in Hungary was the creation of a belief that a restoration of the monarchical régime was intended. The Social Democrats were taking the setting up of another kingdom for granted, and were much discouraged, declaring that their struggles for freedom during a period of thirty years would be nullified by such action. The Vienna monarchists, on the contrary, were enthusiastic over the prospects. In Germany the appointment of the Archduke as Regent of Hungary created a great sensation, and was deeply deplored by the Democratic and Socialist press, the latter going so far as to call it a monarchistic counter-revolution. The *Freiheit*, the independent organ, suggested that Joseph would probably follow the example of Louis Napoleon and change his status to that of King. The Berliner *Tageblatt* said that Joseph's ap-

pointment might be regarded as a stern refusal by the Entente of Rumania's measureless aspirations. In the French press some distrust was expressed of Archduke Joseph, and an attitude of reserve was urged. The *Figaro* said of the Archduke: "He is a Magyar, and therefore a resolute, traditional enemy of France, and this is enough to justify our mistrust, and, if necessary, vigorous action by us."

REPUBLIC OR MONARCHY?

Reports published on Aug. 10 indicated that the Royalists had established a sort of branch quarter at the Hotel Sacher, Vienna, where Princes, Counts, and Generals, in their gorgeous, old-time uniforms, behaved as did the officers of Francis Joseph, and where the Archduke Joseph's name was preceded by the title "his Royal Highness." Similar scenes were depicted in Budapest by the *Tageblatt's* special correspondent, who asserted that the old militarism was springing up around the Paladin. In contradiction of this Archduke Joseph's adviser, Count Stefan Bethlen, declared in an interview that the new Government would be composed of representatives of all classes—workmen, bourgeoisie, and agriculturists—and that the future Cabinet would restore order. "Saturated with the spirit of the new era," he added, "Hungary will attempt to lift herself from the ground and enter the ranks of productive peoples."

As to whether the new form of government to be adopted would be a republic or a monarchy, Count Bethlen declined to commit himself. The Archduke himself, however, on Aug. 10 issued a statement in which he said:

It is impossible to say whether the future Government of Hungary is to be monarchical or republican. That question is to be decided solely by the National Assembly, which is to be elected immediately after the Rumanians leave the country. It is impossible to attempt the holding of elections during Rumanian occupation. The elections, when held, will be conducted on the system of universal franchise. Every man and woman over twenty-four years of age will have the right to vote.

The present situation in Hungary is most critical. The Rumanians have stopped

the operation of the railways, telegraph and telephones, and are preventing food from reaching Budapest. The new Hungarian Government will not negotiate with the Rumanians, but will rely on the Entente.

Premier Friedrich, interviewed at the same date, said:

The removal of the Peidl Cabinet was essential because it was really a Bolshevik body. Archduke Joseph came to Budapest at 10 o'clock yesterday morning, escorted by Hungarian officers, and conferred with the British General, Gordon; the American Colonel, Ley, and the Italian Colonel, Romanelli, and then formed a Cabinet, consisting entirely of bureaucrats.

The Archduke again conferred at 2 o'clock this morning with the heads of the allied missions, reaching a satisfactory agreement. The Rumanians did not participate in the conferences.

THE ARCHDUKE'S STATEMENT

A telegraph message sent by Archduke Joseph, as temporary dictator of Hungary, to Premier Clemenceau, outlining the new Government's policy and asking for allied recognition, was received by the Supreme Interallied Council on Aug. 9. The text of this message was as follows:

The preceding Ministry, composed partly of former members of the Bela Kun Government, was invited to withdraw by us, supported by public opinion. The Ministry resigned the night before last and a new transition Ministry was constituted.

In my quality of dictator, and as the transition Ministry requested, I assumed power and accredited a Government. The population of the capital learned with the greatest enthusiasm of the fall of the Bolshevik régime, as, I am persuaded, will the population of the entire country.

Our first object is preparation for convocation at the earliest possible moment of the National Assembly, so that the latter may pronounce on the question of what form of State shall be established on a constitutional basis.

Until then our program will consist of stamping out Bolshevism, implanted by the actions of the terrorists, fulfillments of the armistice terms, restoration of normal conditions of security, resumption of productive work in the country, and preparations for the peace negotiations.

For all these reasons we seek the closest contact with the Allies, and solicit your kind support and recognition of our Government in the interest of the success of our efforts.

ARCHDUKE JOSEPH,
Field Marshal.

The whole question of the Archduke's

seizure of power and the Rumanian occupation was discussed by the Supreme Council.

RUMANIA IN SELF-DEFENSE

Meanwhile, the Rumanian representative in Paris, Nicholas Misu, whose explanations of the Rumanian occupation of Budapest were considered unsatisfactory by the Council, issued the following statement:

We are at a loss to understand why the Allies, and the Americans, above all, should criticise Rumania for its action in defeating the Bolsheviks in Hungary. We feel that we have done the Peace Conference and the entire world a service by giving the Hungarians an opportunity to set up a representative Government. Furthermore, we were forced to march against Budapest in self-defense. Hungary attacked us and the Bolsheviks threatened to overwhelm us from two sides. For tactical reasons we had to advance beyond the armistice lines fixed between us and the Hungarians.

When other armies refused to move against the Hungarian Bolsheviks we moved alone. We shall move our troops from Budapest when the Hungarians have been thoroughly disarmed and no longer threaten our very existence.

Meantime, we hope the whole world will take pains to learn the truth about the peril which forced us to fight for our lives. We have never left the Peace Conference and shall obey all its orders, but we cannot sign the Austrian treaty if it contains the provisions for the protection of minorities. We believe it is wrong for the big powers to force such conditions on the small powers. We favored a clause proposed for the League of Nations which would have guaranteed the rights of all persons, regardless of race or religion, and believe that such action should be taken by all the nations acting together and imposed upon all alike, rather than upon a few small powers by the great powers.

The seizure of 2,000 Hungarian locomotives was also defended by M. Misu as necessary for reconstruction work and the feeding of Rumania.

HIGH-HANDED PROCEEDINGS

Reports of arbitrary and high-handed proceedings by the Rumanians continued, including severe press censorship and the suppression of most of the Hungarian newspapers, the robbery of houses by Rumanian soldiers, and excesses permitted in the provinces. Several hundred

Jews suspected of Bolshevik sympathies had been arrested in Budapest. Jews had been pulled from street cars and cabs and severely beaten, while Rumanian soldiers were said to have encouraged the attackers. The country had been swept bare of provisions by the Rumanian forces for miles around Budapest. The Banat of Temesvar, in Northern Hungary, a region whose boundaries had been long a matter of dispute between Rumania and Hungary, had been occupied by Rumanian contingents.

It was stated on Aug. 9 that the Rumanian commander at Budapest had refused to accept a letter of protest presented to him on Aug. 8 by General Gordon, British representative of the Interallied Military Commission appointed by the Allies to arrange a settlement at Budapest, and that M. Diamandy, Rumanian High Commissioner in the Hungarian capital, had refused to accept the allied instructions to carry out the disarmament of the Hungarian Army according to the terms of the armistice of November, 1918. This point was won by Rumania on Aug. 13, when the Council of Five sent instructions to the Interallied Commission and Generals not to issue any military orders to the Rumanians, but merely to make recommendations and to investigate the situation and send their report to Paris.

RUMANIA'S REPLY TO ALLIES

A series of three notes was sent by the Interallied Supreme Council to Premier Bratiano of Rumania. The first of these invited the Rumanian High Command to stop the advance upon Budapest; the second, the text of which is given above, advised the Rumanian Cabinet that the Allies could not approve the terms of the armistice ultimatum to Hungary, and the third expressed the hope that Rumania would confer amicably with the Supreme Council.

The answer of the Rumanian Government to these several messages did not reach Paris until Aug. 13. The text of this answer was not made public, but it was said to be conciliatory; it was further stated that the Rumanian Premier had instructed the Rumanian officers at Budapest to hold an immediate confer-

ence with the allied Generals there and to make every effort to avoid complications.

In a statement issued in Bucharest on Aug. 13 M. Bratiano said that the Rumanians had entered Budapest on the supposition that they were accomplishing the desires of the Allies, that the movement was undertaken to stamp out Bolshevism, and that only such territory would be taken as was considered essential to Rumania's national unity. The Rumanian troops, he declared, would be withdrawn within the borders prescribed by the Rumanian treaty of alliance with the Allies whenever there was established in Hungary a stable Government that would insure protection to the Rumanian frontiers and the fulfillment of the armistice terms. Much of his review of the situation followed the lines of argument advanced by M. Misu in Paris.

WORKMEN WANT NO KING

Jacob Weltner, President of the Industrial Workmen's Council of Budapest, issued a statement on Aug. 10 regarding the new Government in which he said:

Only so long as Rumanian bayonets continue in Budapest will the present Government remain in office. The Hungarian Workmen's Federation must be reckoned with now and for all time. When the war was two years old it had a membership of 85,000. It now has 700,000, and the workmen want no King.

Supplementary reports from the Hungarian capital stated that the Socialists had decided not to join the present Government, but to enter the opposition. Hundreds of Red Guards were fleeing daily from Hungary into Austria, where they were being interned at the Bruck camp. Meanwhile prominent Hungarian statesmen were returning to Budapest from Vienna. Hungarian peasants, filled with hatred of the Bela Kun régime, were continuing to lynch Red Guards and also Jewish and other Soviet officials of Budapest and the provinces.

On Aug. 11 the Entente blockade of Hungary was reported raised. This dispatch added that the Rumanians were extending their area of occupation to West Hungary, alleging the necessity of suppressing Bolshevik plots in this region.

The decision of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference to take no further action in the Hungarian situation until it received the report of the Interallied Military Commission was reiterated from Paris on Aug. 12. Brig. Gen. Harry H. Bandholtz, the American representative on the commission, reached Budapest on Aug. 11.

PREMIER BRATIANO'S DEFENSE

That the Rumanians believed they were acting in accordance with the desire of the Peace Conference was asserted by Premier Bratiano in an interview given to The Associated Press on Aug. 12. He said:

Our troops will be withdrawn within the frontiers fixed by the Rumanian treaty of alliance with the Allies whenever there is established in Hungary a stable Government that will afford protection to the Rumanian frontiers and give any effective guarantee that the armistice or treaty terms will be observed.

While we were awaiting the arrival of allied troops the Bolsheviks attacked the Rumanian troops on the Transylvanian front. After several days of hard fighting, in which Rumania received no material help from the Allies, the Bolshevik forces were beaten decisively.

The so-called Government of Bela Kun was overthrown, although at heavy sacrifices on the part of the Rumanian Army. In order to render the victory effective the Rumanian troops occupied Budapest and restored order where only anarchy had prevailed.

It is rather strange to find Rumania treated as an enemy, not as an ally, and charged with the violation of the terms of the armistice simply because we defended ourselves when attacked. We did single-handed what the Entente asked us to do with them several weeks before, that is, go to Hungary and end the anarchy which threatened not only the peace of Rumania but that of all Europe.

Rumania has achieved national unity, and does not want more territory from Hungary. She wants only a just peace and restoration of order so that her army may be demobilized and return to work, to aid in unifying and rebuilding the country out of the wreckage of war. These results cannot be secured so long as we are compelled to fight single-handed against Bolshevism on two fronts and so long as our every effort at self-defense and restoration of order is embarrassed and misrepresented.

The Interallied Supreme Council still had the subject of Rumania's status in Budapest under consideration when this article went to press.

Czechoslovakia's Relations With Hungary

[EVENTS UP TO AUG. 15, 1919]

LIVING conditions in Czechoslovakia during July and August continued bad. The cost of clothing and food was excessive. The food obtainable at high prices was not nourishing, owing to the absence of fats. The condition of the children was particularly pathetic. On Aug. 10 Herbert Hoover, head of the Interallied Relief Commission, reached Prague with a staff of experts, and immediately went into conference with President Masaryk and the Ministry on questions of economic importance to Czechoslovakia, especially that of establishing administrations to control the coal and railroads of Central Europe. Long discussions took place on the general necessity of Czechoslovakia's con-

tinuing through the next twelve months on limited rations, and it was pointed out that world conditions required strenuous production and rigorous economy against non-essential imports. Stress was also laid on the necessity for the industrial expansion of Czechoslovakia and the devotion of the country's resources to the purchase of raw material, even at the cost of abstinence from many luxuries.

According to the *Vossische Zeitung* of Berlin, Count Michael Karolyi, former Hungarian President, together with his wife and entire suite, was arrested and interned at Prague on July 26, after various vicissitudes, including imprisonment in Austria, enforced return to Hungary, and a further departure to Italy,

where he was allowed to remain for only a short period.

On the same date Premier Vlantimil Tusar, in the name of the Czechoslovak Government, sent a strong note of protest to Bela Kun, the Hungarian Communist Minister, concerning the aerial bombardment of a Czechoslovak town by the Hungarians on July 24, as well as other violations of the armistice. He also demanded compensation for the sacking of various factories under orders from the Hungarian Minister of Justice, Tibor Szamuely. Indemnity was demanded likewise for the destruction and theft of rolling stock and telegraph and telephone material at a dozen points in the zone occupied by the Hungarians. Furthermore, the Premier demanded a definite and formal undertaking that there should be no recurrence of such hostile acts, and that the persistent Bolshevik propaganda of Hungarian inception in Czechoslovakia should cease forthwith. Shortly after the sending of this note the Soviet Government of Bela Kun was overthrown.

Large but orderly demonstrations occurred in Prague on Aug. 11, led generally by the Social Democratic element, in protest against the coup d'état by

which Archduke Joseph had become the head of the Hungarian Government. At the beginning of the Rumanian invasion of Hungary the more conservative elements of Czechoslovakia were insistent that a Czech army advance immediately into Hungary to protect national interests there. President Masaryk and members of his Ministry, however, opposed such a movement, on the ground that they did not wish to embarrass the great powers further in the situation that had arisen through the Rumanian invasion. Hitherto the Czech Ministry had been reticent in expressing its views on the developments in Hungary, but the demonstration referred to made it necessary for the Government to make some declaration. Apprehension, it was said, had been aroused in Czechoslovakia by the reappearance of a Hapsburg in a Government position in Central Europe and by the possibility that the reactionary element in Vienna would join forces with those supporting the Archduke and amalgamate the Austrian and Hungarian Governments into a great reactionary State. Czechoslovak officials hoped that the United States would use its influence to prevent the new Hungarian régime from succeeding.

Internal Affairs in Austria

Statement by President Seitz

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1919]

WHILE the Austrian Peace Treaty was slowly taking shape at St. Germain, near Paris, the nation's home affairs continued to be in a precarious state. The threatened break in diplomatic relations between Austria and Soviet Hungary, due to the propagandist activities of the Hungarian Minister at Vienna, Czobel, was averted by the latter's withdrawal and replacement by General Boehm on July 17. A general strike on July 21 tied up Vienna completely. The desperate plight of Austria was set forth on July 31 by President Seitz, who urged that the Allies take steps to save Austria from a fate similar

to that of Hungary. His statement was as follows:

While our valuables, jewels, gold, and paintings have been slowly finding their way across the frontiers, it is not yet too late to save us from the fate of Hungary, which has been stripped and ruined for generations within a few months. This the Allies will discover if they ever undertake its reconstruction.

We have been marking time commercially, as we have been forced to do, because of our deficit of 4,000,000,000 crowns, the large sum we are paying to the unemployed, the large amount dispersed for employees' pensions, and also because of the lack of revenue from tobacco and liquor.

Speaking broadly, the Allies should



MAP SHOWING SIZE OF AUSTRIA AS COMPARED WITH THE FORMER AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

realize that European business must be kept going. Unless the people of Europe are employed they must emigrate, for, if they stay at home, they may become troublemakers, disturbing the world's peace. Men won't lie down to die quietly. Austria does not expect to live on the old scale, but at least she must have her daily bread.

Regarding the Danube federation proposed as a relief for commercial conditions, I am afraid that quarrels over frontiers will prevent that. However, a great Central European union is not only logical, but possible. It should include States from the North Sea to the Mediterranean.

Dr. Karl Renner, the Austrian Chancellor, and Herr Frantz, the Austrian Conservative leader, conferred in St. German on Aug. 2, with a view to establishing between the parties of the Left and the Conservatives and Liberals a coalition intended to check Bolshevism. The Austrian peace delegation formally notified the Peace Conference on Aug. 4 that it would submit its complete observations on the treaty on the following day at 6 P. M. This was done, but the document was not made public. Immediately after its delivery Chancellor Renner left for Vienna, announcing that he

would return on Aug. 12. It was stated that the Peace Conference would take about eight days to consider the Austrian suggestions, and that Austria would then have about five days to indicate her intention as to the signing of the treaty.

The news of the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Government of Bela Kun, which occurred on July 31, created great excitement in Austria. The activities of the Hungarian Bolsheviks had been for many months one of the greatest menaces to the stability of the Austrian Republic, and the elimination of Bela Kun and his associates brought to the Austrian authorities a feeling of great relief. On the arrival of Bela Kun and several members of his Government they were interned in the camp of Drossendorf, near Vienna.

On Aug. 10 a great demonstration occurred before the Foreign Office. The crowd demanded the return of Austrian war prisoners from Siberia, where hundreds of Austrians were said to be dying daily.

Simultaneously with the news from Rome that Charles and Zita Hapsburg,

now at Wartegg Château in Switzerland, would take up their residence at the Villa Pianore as soon as peace was established between Italy and Austria came some notes of an Italian journalist recording parts of a conversation at Constantinople with the English officer, Lieutenant Strutt, D. S. O., who escorted the pair out of turbulent Austria and landed them safely in Switzerland last Spring.

Colonel Strutt's experience with the Hapsburg pair was distinctly interesting. When revolution followed revolution in the Central Empires, fears were entertained by King George of England that the fate which overtook the Czar and his family in Russia might be inflicted on the Hapsburgs. This fear was imparted to the proper military authorities, with the result that Colonel Strutt and a detachment of military police were sent to the rescue.

The Colonel found the former ruler of Austria-Hungary living in the lonely Schloss of Eckartsau. He and his family had a small staff with them, but found great difficulty in getting food, and even medicines. Once a car was sent to the Palace of Schönbrunn, where the old Emperor had died, to obtain sugar and coffee. On its return it was held up and robbed by the Red Guard, who sent with it a threatening letter addressed to "Herr Karl Habsburg."

There were only half a dozen British military police at the disposition of Colonel Strutt—quite insufficient should the Red Guard attack the Schloss in force. So he decided that the Hapsburg pair must find refuge at the wife's Châ-

teau of Wartegg, at Staad, near Rorschach, on Lake Constance, where her brother Sixte had learned to swim and Duke Enrico had considerable money invested in white sandstone quarries. When the Colonel suggested that the ex-Emperor should travel incognito, Charles gave him a prompt refusal, with the added words: "I will not go alone. We all stay or we all go. If we go, we go openly, as we have lived here."

Colonel Strutt accordingly petitioned the Socialist Government at Vienna to allow the family to go to Switzerland. After much negotiation the proper authorization was received. On March 23 a special train started, guarded by the Colonel and six British military police. There were twenty-two persons in the train, including the ex-Empress Zita, three of her children, the mother of the ex-Emperor, and his personal staff. The journey was made with closed blinds and by a route which avoided the Red districts.

The Colonel describes the ex-Empress as "the man" of the family—"a most capable and strong-minded woman of great distinction of presence and bearing, with remarkable knowledge of a wide range of subjects." Even on such a matter as the internal organization of the army she was an authority.

"The only resentment I heard Karl express," he adds, "was against the Germans, who plundered in Austria as if they had been on enemy territory. He has not abdicated, and after the interregnum caused by the Socialists—after peace has been signed—he expects to be recalled."

Jugoslavia in Difficulties

Revolt of Croats and Montenegrins Against Serbian Control— How America Fed Starving Montenegro

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1919]

IT was stated from Belgrade in July that a German-Austrian infiltration of Serbia had begun. Serbia from one end of the country to the other was flooded with cheap Austrian and German

goods, against which the peasant class seemed to have no prejudice. Pictures of atrocities committed by the Bulgarians on the Serbians were everywhere displayed. In Belgrade, however, there

was bitterness against the Austrians, especially among the better class of people, whose homes had been systematically despoiled by Austrian officers; sixty trainloads of household goods from Belgrade had been shipped across the Danube into Austria, each train composed of approximately thirty cars. Belgrade and northern Serbia were flooded with depreciated Austrian currency. Famine and distress prevailed throughout the country.

On Aug. 3 the entire Serbian Cabinet for reasons not assigned, withdrew from office; its collective resignation was accepted by Prince Alexander, the Serbian Regent. It was announced on Aug. 9 that M. Davidovitch, former Minister of Worship and leader of the young Radical Party, had been intrusted with the formation of a new Cabinet. M. Davidovitch stated that he would attempt to reach an agreement with N. P. Pashitch, former Premier and leader of the old Radical Party, for the formation of a Ministry composed of members of both parties.

Revolts both by the Croats and the Montenegrins were reported toward the end of July. The dissatisfaction of both peoples with the Serbian rule has been repeatedly expressed. The Croat desire for independence was expressed at length in a petition sent to President Wilson at the Peace Conference. In this document the Croat claim to superior culture, as compared with that of the Serbians, was emphasized, and the desire for the formation of a free and democratic Croatia made clear. An appendix to this petition stated that, had it not been for persecutions of the Croatian league by the Serbians, the seizure and suppression of various lists and the imprisonment of Stephen Raditch, the leader of the movement, the document, which bore 160,000 signatures, would have been signed by many more.

TWO SEPARATIST REVOLTS

A serious military revolt in Croatia was reported on July 25. It was taking the form of a movement for separation from Serbia and the formation of a republic. Troops were leaving their units; officers

and subalterns were tearing off their insignia, and the army was in a state of dissolution. Railroads and telegraphs were tied up. The Serbians were trying to suppress the revolution by the use of troops, both Serbian and Croatian. Agram advices did not record any disorder in that city. They stated, however, that an independent Croatian republic had been proclaimed by soldiers in several Croatian towns. On July 27 Belgrade dispatches held that the revolt was purely local, and had been quickly suppressed.

The Montenegrin Government in an official statement of July 26, replying to demands made upon it by Serbia, declared that the Montenegrin people were engaged in an uprising against the Serbian troops of occupation, and that the Serbian Government had been interpellated on this subject in the Belgrade Parliament. In this statement Montenegro reiterated her demand that she receive representation at the Peace Conference and that the Serbians evacuate Montenegro.

The occurrence of such revolts was officially denied by the Yugoslav Government through the Yugoslav Information Bureau at Washington on July 20.

Alleged excesses by Serbian troops in Montenegro were complained of early in July by the Montenegrin Government—that of King Nicholas—the headquarters of which are located in a suburb of Paris, Nicholas never having recognized the action of the Montenegrin Assembly last December in deposing him and voting to unite the country with the Serbian-Croat-Slovene State. Montenegro has never been and is not now represented separately at the Peace Conference, and has repeatedly charged the Serbian delegates with intriguing and unfair procedure in their negotiations at Paris in the name of Montenegro.

FEEDING SERBIA

On July 26 the first unit to be sent to Serbia by the Serbian Relief Committee sailed for Havre. According to a statement issued by the committee there were 50,000 destitute Serbian children, mostly war orphans, in Jugoslavia, whose plight

was desperate. The American Women's Hospital was co-operating with the Relief Committee. Clothing, food, medicines, and other necessities were being shipped to Serbia to care for these waifs, for whom orphanages had been opened in Northern Siberia, or who had come under the so-called "adoption system."

The American relief work in Yugoslavia was interestingly described in a report submitted to Herbert Hoover by a young Lieutenant in the United States Army, who had volunteered his services for the seemingly impossible task of getting food to the suffering people of Montenegro in remote and mountainous districts. This report in part was as follows:

This is the one region of Montenegro that never gave up to the Austrians. The hills were always filled with loyal troops, who frequently raided the occupying forces in the valley. In retaliation the Austrians carried off practically all of the cattle and food supplies. This, plus the fact that it was completely isolated because of the impassable mountains, whose trails have been blocked with snow during the Winter months, and because of the broken bridges on its one good road, has left this district on starvation rations since the last of November. Even last Fall many of the people were eating grass. For the last four months the death rate has been enormous.

We found after investigation that the use of cableways over the broken bridges and up the steepest mountains was the quickest and most feasible way of transporting food to the isolated districts beyond.

On the route from Podgoritzta to Kolachij, for instance, we put up a cable over the blown-up bridge that used to span the foaming, swift-running river that runs between the mountains here. With this we were able to swing our loads of food over to the other side. Here we packed the food on burros for the perilous haul over five miles of mountain trails, winding in and out on the edge of the cliffs. Then they were swung on a second cable over a second broken bridge spanning a deep chasm, and from there the food could be taken by horse and cart to Kolachij. The entire distance of this route is but fifty miles, but the many different hauls necessary even in this short distance give some idea of our transportation problem here.

AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

From another part of Yugoslavia came the following report:

The spectre of hunger has at last been removed in this district, even though a mountain wall of 5,000 feet shut it from the outside world, and for a long time this region seemed doomed. We have succeeded at last, however, in establishing cableways up to the tops of the mountains. Here we collect all the burros and pack horses we can scrape together to take the food down to the valley towns on the other side of the mountain.

You should see how anxiously but trustingly the people down in the valley wait for our American food to arrive. When we first entered this region it was the latter part of the Winter, and the people had given up all hope of being saved. "It is no use," they told us when we arrived, "you can't save us; we haven't enough provisions to hold out until Spring, and even if there is American food to be had you can't get it to us. The Germans have torn up all railroads and bridges leading to the seaboard. But even if you could get the food to the mountains you couldn't get it over to us, because all the mountain trails are impassable for hauling this time of year. No, you can't save us," they kept repeating.

"Yes, we can," we replied, and, planting the American flag on one of their little churches as a symbol of hope to keep up their courage, we went back over the mountains and began to open up the channels of communication with the seaboard by means of horses and cables, as already described. The hardest part of the haul was, of course, over the mountains themselves. Here we never dared to send off a train of our pack horses carrying the precious food without sending with them a crew of men to shovel them out of the drifts. Many times the trails had to be shoveled foot by foot as the pack horses proceeded. The discouraging part of it was that when the wind was high the trails almost immediately filled up again, so that a few minutes after one had been shoveled it would be lost beneath the drifts. By the end of March, however, the snow melted sufficiently so that this difficulty was removed.

Anyhow, we kept our word. What they said couldn't be done, we said could. And we did it! The people in this district are now happily eating American flour and pork. They have stopped digging graves and are cultivating their farms.

Poland as a Free Nation

The Diet Approves the Action of Its Delegates and Ratifies the Peace Treaty—Poland's Military Campaigns

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1919]

ON Premier Paderewski's return to Warsaw from the Peace Conference toward the end of July he explained the provisions of the treaty to the Ratification Commission of the Constitutional Assembly, especially the changes forced upon the Polish peace delegates over their protest. In the course of this explanation he said:

We signed the peace pact because it was our deep conviction that we were not permitted to do otherwise. We felt all that was unpleasant for us in the pact, but also that which was agreeable. We performed our duty and could do no more.

In the provisions regarding Poland and Germany there are changes unfavorable for us. Bankers, capitalists, American Jews, and also the British Labor Party, exerted a pressure in that direction. Under such circumstances foreign capital and labor came to a perfect understanding to the disadvantage of Poland.

The provisions of the Peace Treaty regarding national minorities are unpleasant for us. This law of minorities was decided before the suspension of the armistice. Foreign capital worked the greatest wrong upon us.

Great injustice was done in the peace pact in allowing language and cultural rights to Germans living in Poland, while such rights are not guaranteed to Polish people living in Germany. It will be necessary for the constitutional convention to demand such rights for the Poles in Germany when Germany is taken into the League of Nations.

The internationalization of the River Vistula was distasteful to us, as it struck at the sovereignty of the Polish State. When we protested it was explained that the object of the League of Nations was to internationalize all rivers.

The decision to make Poland take part in paying off the Russian debt was also unpleasant, but we were prepared for it, as we considered it inevitable. It was not agreeable to make this known to us just before our departure for Versailles, at the last moment before signing peace, but our protests were without success.

Premier Paderewski urged the commission to report in favor of ratifying the treaty, and that it be ratified by the Constitutional Assembly.

PADEREWSKI'S ADDRESS

During the sitting of the Diet on July 31, at which the Peace Treaty was ratified, Premier Paderewski said he rejoiced that Poland's freedom had been recognized by Germany and was solemnly confirmed by the allied and associated powers, "although," he said, "precious Polish blood will probably still flow for territories not yet returned to our patrimony." The treaty, he added, granted much, nevertheless, from a national point of view. Paying eloquent tribute to President Wilson and Premiers Clemenceau and Lloyd George, M. Paderewski expressed his gratitude to France and the other allied powers which had fostered and confirmed the new Polish Republic. It was a time for rejoicing, he said, that after more than a hundred years the Polish vision had been realized. Poland was a nation unto herself once more, and the great hope of every Pole since his birth had at last been realized. The Premier delivered this thought with a deep, quiet fervor that brought the Diet and the galleries, crowded with elegantly dressed women and the entire Diplomatic Corps, to its feet and made the hall ring with applause.

GENERAL PILSUDSKI'S REVIEW

A review of Poland's accomplishment during the last six months was given by General Pilsudski to a well-known foreign correspondent. General Pilsudski said:

Six months in a nation's life is a brief period, yet in this time we have accomplished much. We are building now for the future. I am convinced that the democratic and progressive foundations of our State will remain intact and will develop more and more strength, undisturbed by frictions growing out of political party differences. Poland will develop by evolution—not revolution.

There is no doubt there will be many difficulties ahead of us, for we are con-

structing the new Poland from various sections of the country which have lived under different Governments and different laws for one to two centuries. The economic situation is the most complex of our problems. The Russian, and then the German, evacuation bled the country of supplies and every machine of any value was carried off.

Unemployment is another grave question. Temporary remedies are being tried, but a permanent plan for providing work for the people is very essential. The food situation, thanks to the United States, is no longer serious. From all present indications there will be a rich harvest.

POLAND A WORLD GHETTO

We suffer from our inheritance from Russia. She did everything possible to transform Poland into a world ghetto, driving into our country all the Jews which Russia proper would not tolerate. She also left in all the western region many discriminatory laws against the Jews.

I would like to call attention to the first step Poland has taken for the amelioration of the condition bequeathed to us. That is the provision which makes no exception as to religion or nationality in Polish laws. I am convinced that the democratic influence of our Government will do for the Jews what other advanced Governments give outright by law, and that the Jewish question with us will be solved in the same broad spirit as has guided other nations in solving the same question.

Elections will be held upon the basis of proportional representation, and every minority will have representatives. This is a most just method of suffrage, for it gives to all elements of the nation a voice in the formation of the Government. I sincerely hope the misfortunes which have befallen the Jews in Poland will never recur. In fact, I am sure of this, and that as soon as Europe returns to normal we will be able to travel over the country without let or hindrance. The Jewish question in Poland then will cease to be a world question, and home rule will prevail here as elsewhere. Much must be done, however, and especially must the schools which have been so long neglected be brought to a high degree of efficiency.

DISORDERS EXAGGERATED

The presence of an American investigating mission is welcome. It will find sensational rumors of disorders grossly exaggerated. I will gladly assist the mission in any way in my power to find the truth. From newspaper accounts the impression has gone abroad that Jewish blood is flowing all over Poland and that pogroms are the principal occupation of

every town and village. These murder stories have no foundation in reality. We have had, for some time, not only excesses against Jews but similar excesses against Gentiles, for war leaves savage traces in all peoples, and four years of war have made these traces particularly strong in Poland.

The American Investigating Committee sent to Poland by the Peace Conference to ascertain the truth of the stories of anti-Jewish pogroms, and consisting of Henry Morgenthau, head of the commission; General Jadwin, and Homer Johnson, stated in a cablegram to the State Department on Aug. 7 that it had heard less than one-third of the testimony which it intended to consider before submitting it all to the Polish Government. It refused to pronounce any judgment until its work was completed.

POLAND'S MILITARY CAMPAIGNS

It was reported on July 24 that the Poles appeared to be ceasing their offensive against the Ukrainians, who, profiting by the lull, were using all their strength against Kiev, intending, if successful against the Bolsheviks there to return and contest Polish pacification of Eastern Galicia. On July 27 the Polish News Bureau announced that the Polish advance into Galicia had resulted in the occupation of all Galicia up to the River Zbrucz; the advance had been so swift that the Ukrainians had had no time to destroy the railways or bridges as they retired. The Poles had taken 6,500 prisoners and 41 guns, as well as large quantities of munitions and railway equipment, between July 11 and July 17. On Aug. 1 the Poles announced a continuance of their victorious march against the Ukrainians. They were crossing the Zbrucz River (the boundary between Galicia and the Ukraine) at various points. The Polish Army's objective was said to be Kamenetz Podolia, which is the capital of General Simon Petliura, the Ukrainian leader.

In Poland's warfare against the Bolsheviks the Poles scored considerable successes. By a converging movement on Minsk, after a fortnight of fighting, Polish forces reached and entered the city on July 8. A new offensive was

contemplated from Minsk as a base. North of Pinsk the Polish anti-Bolshevist offensive was progressing favorably.

POLISH BOUNDARIES

On July 2 the National Council of Posnania addressed an appeal to the inhabitants of Polish territories still under German domination to preserve their calm and maintain order while awaiting the plebiscite which would decide the political complexion of these territories. The German inhabitants of territories given to Poland were assured full protection of their rights and liberties. It was announced from Paris on July 31 that the Conference Commission on Polish Affairs was engaged in drawing up a Constitution for Galicia, recommending that Galicia be under Poland, but with the right to regulate its local affairs to a considerable extent.

Regarding the conflict between the Poles and Czechs over the Teschen coal mine district, the Supreme Council on July 25 decided to grant the Poles and Czechs ten days more in which to reach an agreement on their differences. If at the expiration of this period no agreement had been arrived at, the council stated that it would settle the difficulty itself. A special visit of Premier Paderewski to Prague to discuss the situation with President Masaryk and the subsequent reference of the whole matter to a joint commission occurred in July. A request from the German Government that a commission of Poles and Germans be permitted to meet in Berlin immediately to discuss questions arising from the adjustment of boundaries was being considered by the Supreme Council on the date mentioned above. Notice was sent to Germany that the great powers would also participate in the conference, to be arranged as soon as practicable.

LITHUANIAN CLAIMS

The question of the ultimate disposition of Lithuania remained a cause of embitterment between the Lithuanians and the Poles, the former maintaining their claim for complete independence, which they had never abandoned. The case of Lithuania, briefly stated, is as follows: The Lithuanians, the Esthoni-

ans, and the Letts in the region bordering the Baltic Sea have been fighting the Bolsheviks, but all assert that the Poles have attacked them. The Poles have conquered Lida, Pinsk, and the Lithuanian capital, Vilna, and have also sought to invade White Russia, an area of some 73,000 square miles, with a population of 8,000,000. On Jan. 25, 1918, the White Russians, together with the Lithuanians, decided to form a single nation, and asked the Letts and Ukrainians to join them, making together a large nation that would stretch from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Today the Lithuanians, the Letts, the Esthonians, and the Ukrainians are protesting against the Poles, who are invading their territory.

Lithuania herself has made various attempts to secure independence, first during the Russo-Japanese war of 1905; again in October, 1917; then in January, 1918; large conventions were held in Vilna, and Lithuania was proclaimed independent. On March 13 and 14, 1918, American Lithuanians held a convention in New York City, giving their unanimous approval to the proclaiming of independent Lithuania. On April 4, 1919, Lithuania was formally declared a republic and A. Smatona elected President. Again, on June 9-11, 1919, a convention was held in Chicago, where unanimous resolutions were passed protesting against Polish aspirations in Lithuania, and demanding that the Lithuanian part of East Prussia should be taken from Germany and included in the Lithuanian Republic. The latest mass meeting of this kind reported was one held on July 4 at Springfield, Mass. A resolution passed at this meeting reads, in part, as follows:

The Lithuanian mass meeting held July 4 at Springfield, Mass., representing over 3,000 loyal Americans of Lithuanian ancestry and their several organizations, social, political, scientific, and economic, observes with grave apprehension the unlawful occupation of the territory of their blood kindred in Lithuania by the Bolshevik, Polish, and German armies. The action of Poland is especially sinister and foreboding, since long prior to the invasion of Lithuania by the Bolsheviks, leading Poles, such as Generals Pilsudski and Haller and Messrs. Paderewski and Dmowski, repeatedly declared Poland's

purpose to occupy by force the capital of Lithuania and her ancient provinces of Grodno, Vilna, and Suwalki.

Further cause for foreboding has arisen because tales and misleading reports emanating from Warsaw and disseminated throughout the world to the effect that the Lithuanian Provisional Government, after negotiation, agreed to turn over its functions to Poland and that later the Provisional Government agreed to permit Polish armies to occupy Lithuanian territory. The true facts are that the Polish armies, under the pretense of resisting the Bolsheviks, have engaged in actual and unprovoked warfare upon the Lithuanians, with the design of conquest. The Polish armies have concentrated their entire energies upon the subjugation of Lithuania, a country of another race, unwilling to accept the Polish yoke or any foreign sovereignty. The Lithuanians for centuries have resisted all attempts of denationalization, and now that Lithuania has been re-established as an independent State, consisting only of territory rightfully Lithuanian, they do not intend that their labor and sacrifices shall be set at naught.

We deplore such assistance rendered Poland or about to be rendered Russia by the allied nations which enable them to menace Lithuanian independence and the peace of Mid-Europe. We call the world's attention to the fact that in defiance of the terms of the armistice, Germany's arms are today, in effect, supporting Poland and the Bolsheviks against the Lithuanians.

The resolution further presented a series of demands that all invading elements, including Poland, should be compelled to withdraw from Lithuanian territory, that an interallied commission be appointed to settle the dispute, and that reparation be granted Lithuania for all damage done during invasion.

POLISH NATIONAL SPIRIT

An interesting picture of present-day Poland was given not long ago by a Polish correspondent of *The London Times*. Though the cost of living in Warsaw was high, an impression of order and contentment was conveyed. Everywhere was an atmosphere of jubilation engendered by the realization of Poland's new-found national freedom. This correspondent said, in part:

The development of a national sense in the Polish peasant during the last few generations, in spite of all that was done by the Russian and German rule to stifle it, is one of the most remarkable features

of the last century. Now that Poland is free and united, this spirit is stronger than ever. During the last half year the Poles have had revolution and Bolshevism in full blast on all sides of them, but the lower classes were too full of the pride and delight of having their country to themselves once again to lend an ear for a second to the Bolshevik agitator.

One of the chief sources from which the national spirit now finds inspiration is the army. The Poles are immensely proud of the way this force, the bulk of which consists of volunteers, has sprung into existence. The handful of men who in November last, under the guidance of General Pilsudski, disarmed the German garrison and drove them out of Warsaw has now grown into a respectable army, which approaches half a million. It is significant that the two most imposing palaces in Warsaw are occupied by the Ministry of War and the General Staff. The Poles have always been a fighting race, and today, at any rate, the army takes first place in their minds.

Every fifth man in the streets seems to be in uniform. The uniforms are of every sort and description. There is the gray of the original Polish legions raised by General Pilsudski, the French blue of Haller's troops, the American khaki of the latest recruits; and mixed up with these are specimens of almost every corps in the old Russian and Austrian armies. At any hour of the day companies of young soldiers come marching through the city on their way to or from the parade ground. They are fine, strapping young fellows, march well, and have magnificent rhythmical marching songs to help them. Every man sings as if his life depended on it. As soon as the chanting of one of these companies is heard down the street you can see the people stop in twos and threes at the pavement's edge and wait to see their soldiers pass, with pride in their eyes.

BOLSHEVIST ATTACK FEARED

The continued reverses suffered by the Kolchak Government aroused fears in official circles at Warsaw that the diminution of pressure thereby occasioned would provoke another attempt by the Bolsheviks to invade Poland. On Aug. 12 General Pilsudski, Chief of State, and Premier Paderewski reviewed a large body of recruits for that portion of the new Polish Army of 250,000 then being mobilized against the Bolsheviks. The whole national effort, it was stated, was being concentrated upon strengthening the eastern front. The capture of Minsk, already recorded, had improved the posi-

tion of the Polish troops, since it disrupted Bolshevik communications between the north and south through control of the railroad. The Poles contended that, as Poland was on the front line against the Bolsheviks, she should receive aid from the Allies.

A vital problem was that of the food supply, which at this time was declared insufficient to carry her through the following year. If the Peace Conference insisted that Poland must not occupy the

Ukraine, where breadstuffs were available, the Government authorities declared that they must seek financial aid abroad to feed the Polish people. Herbert Hoover and a staff of experts reached Warsaw on Aug. 11, and were met at the station by the Chief of State and the Premier, accompanied by a military guard of honor and a band. Mr. Hoover at once began discussions with the Polish Ministers on food and coal prices and other economic questions.

The Bolshevik War in Russia

Admiral Kolchak's Reverses Counterbalanced by General Denikin's Gains in the South—Americans in Siberia

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1919]

THE outstanding features of the Russian situation in July and August were the heavy reverses suffered by Admiral Kolchak's anti-Bolshevik armies in Western Siberia and the sweeping successes of General Denikin's anti-Bolshevik forces in the adjoining region of South Russia.

In the Archangel sector there were only minor activities on the part of the allied forces, punctuated by revolts of small groups of Bolshevik converts in the Russian contingents. Rebellious Russian troops on July 31 handed over the town of Onega to the Reds and also attempted to capture the railroad front, but were repulsed. General Ironsides announced that he had the situation in hand and that the fresh British volunteer forces were equal to their task. By the enemy's taking of Onega, however, a wedge had been driven between the anti-Bolshevik forces, and the Lenin-Trotsky troops had scored an advance of fourteen miles. By Aug. 2 a Bolshevik communiqué was able to claim a further advance of twenty-seven miles along the Gulf of Onega. The North Russian allied army at Lake Onega made a combined attack by land, sea, and air on Aug. 5; two of the enemy's steamers were captured, a third took flight, and

others were forced ashore. The official Bolshevik report of this affair stated that the Allies were driven back after sixteen hours of fighting in the streets of Onega, and had re-embarked and steamed northward under protection of a hurricane of fire from their ships.

The British War Office announced at the end of July that General Sir Henry Rawlinson would proceed immediately to North Russia to take charge of the withdrawal of the British forces on the Archangel and Murmansk fronts, and that the Government was arranging to send a naval force to cover the evacuation. General Pershing at about the same time reported that Brig. Gen. Wilds P. Richardson, commanding the American troops in North Russia, had been ordered, together with his staff, to return to the United States as soon as practicable. At this date all the American troops had been withdrawn except a detachment in charge of transfer of property and disposition of the bodies of American dead.

On Aug. 11 an appeal to the allied nations not to withdraw their troops from Russia was issued by the Municipality of Archangel and by the Zemstvos of Archangel Province. The ground for this appeal was that the departure of

the allied troops would inflict a moral and material blow which would render the struggle with Bolshevism beyond Russian strength.

ESTHONIAN AND POLISH FRONTS

According to reports from officers of the American Relief Administration received in Paris on July 25, the Western Russian Army was composed of some 20,000 Russians and Esthonians, many of them barefoot and without rifles and unsupported by heavy artillery. The front of this army was described as extending from the Finnish coast to Pskov; it was trying to drive a Bolshevik army four times as large toward Petrograd. The army was suffering severely for lack of food and other supplies before American help arrived. Reports of the provisioning showed that after the arrival in some sectors early in July of white flour supplied by the Americans many of the Bolsheviks, including a regiment of "Green Guards" 2,000 strong, succumbed to the lure of white bread and joined the anti-Bolshevik forces. The American food relief work had progressed as far east as Jamburg, (seventy miles southwest of Petrograd,) which Colonel Gesdlitz, Chief of Staff of the Russian forces, was holding successfully against the Bolsheviks. The improved conditions and the better food had raised the army's morale; but the lack of co-ordination in allied assistance was declared to be making it impossible to effect the liberation and feeding of Petrograd before Winter.

Regarding military operations, Esthonian official reports cabled on July 24 announced that a Bolshevik offensive in the Pskov region had been stopped by the Esthonians, and that the latter, strongly reinforced, had begun a counter-offensive which had forced the Bolsheviks into full retreat. Further withdrawals to a line about thirty miles east of Pskov, and along the Pskov-Polotsk railway to twenty miles south of Pskov, were announced on July 27. At about this time it was reported that Bolshevik propagandists were showering the north-western army in the vicinity of Pskov with leaflets denouncing the Americans and British as imperialists.

On Aug. 1 it was reported that Zinoviev, Governor of Petrograd, had declared at a meeting of the Soviet that Russia intended to end the war against the Esthonians as soon as the frontier towns of Jamburg, Gdov, and Pskov had been retaken. Esthonian newspapers were quoted as stating that peace with Soviet Russia was possible only if an understanding should be reached with the powers that assisted Esthonia in the war against the Bolsheviks.

GERMANS REMAIN IN LETVIA

Meanwhile the German troops in Letvia remained in the territory they held there, and were making every effort to avoid compliance with the allied order that they should evacuate the country speedily, according to messages sent to Paris by the American Relief Administrator in Libau on July 25.

Colonel Fletcher, commanding the forces in Libau sympathetic with the Germans, had distributed over a wide area posters declaring that Karl Ullman, head of the Government of Letvia, was aiming with British co-operation to expel all the Baltic barons and other Germans, too, so as to make it impossible for Germany to retain her strong influence in the former Baltic provinces and "frustrate the coming alliance between Germany and Russia."

The poster also declared that Premier Ullman and the British were endeavoring to make a powerful ally of Russia, to the great injury of Germany's future. Colonel Fletcher had this poster read to all his troops and gave it wide circulation.

General von der Goltz was also making every effort to delay the German evacuation of Letvia until after the harvest, apparently in the hope of not having to leave at all, as he frankly admitted that land was promised to the German soldiers who would be "greatly disappointed" if they were forced to leave. The General asked that the evacuation be postponed for a period of seventy-four days, but the allied mission at Libau was urging the Peace Conference in Paris to take steps to force the Germans to leave Letvia within four weeks.

General von der Goltz was in command

of the regular German organizations, but Colonel Fletcher's forces were made up of demobilized Germans, together with Letts and Russians sympathetic with the efforts of the Baltic land barons, who are chiefly of German extraction, to retain control of the Baltic States.

Advices from Warsaw on Aug. 8 gave additional details of German activities in territory belonging to Poland. Besides exporting everything belonging to the Government the Germans had made preparations to export into Germany this year's crops. Arms and munitions were also being sent by them to Bolshevik Russia, together with instructions to the Red Army, and movements of troops were being effected with the object of strengthening the anti-Polish front.

The Poles themselves were able to claim some victories over their Bolshevik enemies in the region of Minsk. A strong offensive was begun by them toward the end of July, and was still continuing vigorously along the entire front on Aug. 6, the Bolsheviks being progressively forced to withdraw. On Aug. 8 the Polish forces entered Minsk, capital of the Russian province of the same name. Another Polish offensive north of the Minsk marsh belt was also progressing favorably at the date last mentioned. Meantime a Polish army, supported strongly by artillery, left Minsk with the object of beginning a fresh campaign.

GENERAL DENIKIN'S SUCCESSES

General Denikin, after the sweeping victories against the Bolsheviks in June and July, visited Tsaritsin, Kharkov, Bielgorod, and Ekaterinoslav, and was everywhere received by cheering crowds. With a front extending from the Volga to the Dniester, he set to work to consolidate the ground won, and to absorb and organize the thousands of recruits who were pouring into the volunteer army.

The wild joy in the liberated towns was explained by Dr. Harold Williams on the ground of Bolshevik atrocities. Continued exhumations of bodies of victims of the Red Terror supplied fresh evidence of the horrors of the Bolshevik régime. Women were found with their breasts cut off; many victims had been

tortured; some had skin torn off their hands; others had nails driven beneath their fingernails; many had their teeth torn or knocked out. Other details were given by Dr. Williams on July 4. Scores of the victims of the Bolsheviks had been taken into the yard of a building



REGION OF GENERAL DENIKIN'S OPERATIONS IN SOUTH RUSSIA

used as the headquarters of the terrorist commission and were compelled to dig a pit, and then were shot. When the Red Guards were nauseated with the slaughter, Commissary Carpenter Salinko shot down others with his own hand.

Many victims were thrown into sewers, where they were slowly drowned. Torture was frequently applied. In some cases the victims were buried alive. Many bodies were found piled up in cellars. In one cellar a board was found with this pencil scrawl: "Dear Mother: You will never see your Colia alive." The victims of the Reds' slaughter included officers, merchants, students, and schoolboys.

In the Crimea, which had been completely liberated, the record was less terrible. The commander of the Crimean Red Army, Bybenko, was captured.

The prisoners taken at Tsaritsin totaled 11,000. The booty was enormous. When the Kuban Cossacks burst into the town the streets were filled with cheering and weeping crowds. The workmen of the arsenal were enthusiastic. They

had refused to leave with the Bolsheviks. Young men among them begged to be allowed to join the volunteer army. The final assault on this Volga town, which the Bolsheviks call the Red Verdun, was delivered with the help of tanks, armored cars, and airplanes.

Everywhere in the occupied districts the volunteer army was recruiting thousands of first-rate troops.

RESTORING CIVIL RULE

General Denikin regarded his primary task as military, not political; but, being sole leader, he found himself compelled to establish a civil administration with certain broad provisional lines of policy. The City of Ekaterinodar, his headquarters, and the capital of the Kuban Cossack territory, recognized Denikin only in the military sphere. The same was true of the Don Cossack territory. His administrative sphere, however, was widely extended by his new victories, covering the Governments of Ekaterinoslav, Kharkov, Crimea, Astrakhan, and parts of the Governments of Saratov, Voronezh, and Kursk.

For administrative purposes Denikin created a special political council of twenty-three members, combining the functions of a Government and an Advisory Legislative Council. The President was General Dragomirov and most of the members were well-known Cadets or Octobrists. The program laid down was that held by Kolchak, whom Denikin recognized as Supreme Governor of Russia. Military Governors General, with civil Governors to assist them, were appointed in the occupied provinces. Municipal councils were revived and voluntary organizations invited to aid in the work of reconstruction. Free order was maintained by an organized police force. Civil courts began to function, and a Senate of the High Court of Appeals was established in Novingerss.

On July 6 a great fête was held at Ekaterinodar, where liberation of the recaptured districts was celebrated with picturesque solemnities in the presence of the Cossack Ataman. The women were in white dresses, and most of the men in uniform, Russian and British, new and old. Guards lined the avenue, and bands

were playing. The banners were brought forth from the museum in presence of the Ataman, who, preceded by horsemen bearing the ensigns, waved his heavy mace in greeting. Then came the march to Cathedral Square, where, under a canopy, the Bishop celebrated the thanksgiving mass.

ADVANCING ON SARATOV

A few days later (July 10) the military situation again came to the fore. Denikin's army, whose front was 1,200 miles long, was facing a new struggle. His new objectives were Saratov, Voronezh, Kursk, and Poltava—ultimately Moscow, 500 miles away. While consolidation and other measures were proceeding the front was being actively held, and desperate Bolshevik attacks, particularly in the direction of Ekaterinoslav, had been repulsed. Remnants of the Tenth Red Army, which had defended Tsaritsin, were being pursued northward toward Kamyshev on the Volga, while communications between Kamyshev and the interior were cut. The important junction of Balashev was captured by Don Cossacks, into whose hands fell great booty. The Reds, by a desperate effort, recaptured the city, but were again driven out on July 9.

Astrakhan was also reported to have been evacuated by the Reds, who made off southward in barges equipped with naval guns, with the object of forcing a way to Daghestan, the Caucasian province on the middle west shore of the Caspian, there to foment an insurrection among the mountaineers in the rear of the volunteer army. On the left bank of the Volga the Kuban Cossacks were firmly establishing themselves opposite Tsaritsin, while the Ural Cossacks were moving up in the direction of Saratov. On Aug. 11 the Bolsheviks were retreating on this front.

Denikin announced an important victory on July 31 in the capture of Kamyshev, on the Volga, in which 5,000 Bolsheviks, nine guns, and large quantities of material had been taken; this capture had given him a firmer hold on the river in the advance on Saratov, and threatened the Bolshevik communications with Astrakhan. On Aug. 11 Denikin was ad-

vancing on the Astrakhan front and regaining ground previously lost. The same day a volunteer army operating under his orders took the Black Sea port of Ochakov.

MASSACRES IN UKRAINE

Massacres of Jews in the Ukraine were reported in a message of July 30 sent from Paris by Leo Motkin, Secretary of the committee of the Jewish delegations at the Peace Conference. According to this message thousands had been slain in June, and Ukrainian Judaism feared total extermination. Louis Marshall, President of this committee, now in the United States, stated that similar reports had come to him while in Paris from men of high standing in the Ukraine. On Aug. 2 advices received in London by semi-official Polish sources reported that a massacre had also occurred in the Jewish quarter of Odessa, and that it had been carried out by troops of General Grigoriev, (the revolted Bolshevik leader of an Ukrainian independent force in arms against the Bolsheviks,) then occupying the city. Grigoriev's force was one of the irresponsible bands operating in South Russia, against which General Denikin with his volunteer army was struggling as firmly as against the Bolshevik detachments subordinated to the Moscow commissaries. Concerning the Jewish massacres in the Ukraine, the Ukrainian National Committee of the United States on Aug. 2 declares that none had occurred outside the zone of Bolshevism.

The Ukrainians themselves, in a memorial drawn up by the Ukrainian National Committee of the United States and addressed to the President on July 9, protested in their turn against atrocities allegedly committed by the Poles in their invasion of Eastern Galicia; these misdeeds, the pamphlet declared, were committed by the Polish Army under the command of General Haller, "which army is composed in part of American citizens of Polish descent, and which, under the pretext of restoring order in East Galicia, has perpetrated many crimes and atrocities against the Ukrainian civil inhabitants and noncombatant population."

A diplomatic mission from the Ukrainian Republic seeking to bring about the recognition of the Ukrainian Government and the establishment of commercial relations with America arrived in Washington on Aug. 8 and submitted a letter to Secretary Lansing setting forth its aims. Members of the mission explained that the present Ukrainian Government, consisting of a Directorate, of which Simon Petliura is head, was desirous of establishing its independence as a separate nation. The Petliura Government, they said, was anti-Bolshevist, but was not desirous of linking its fortunes with those of Admiral Kolchak. Ukraine, the second largest country in Europe in territory, the richest in natural resources, and the fifth largest in population, was fighting on three fronts—in the west against the Polish and Rumanian invasions and in the east against the invading Bolsheviks.

THE SIBERIAN FRONT

The defeats sustained by the armies of Admiral Kolchak in Western Siberia continued throughout July and August. On July 9 four armies were fighting on a front that extended a distance of 7,500 miles, but, according to successive reports, ineffectually. At about this time the Kolchak forces were concentrating on the Tobolsk River and reorganizing, preparatory to renewing operations with reinforcements. Other forces were holding the Bolsheviks at the Miask River and chain of lakes, fifty miles west of Cheliabinsk. The American Red Cross contingents had been recalled from this latter place because of the near approach of the Bolsheviks. The entire personnel of these contingents had reached Omsk at the date mentioned.

West of Omsk the country was overrun with refugees, mainly intellectuals and peasants, including many who had remained during the previous Bolshevik occupation and were now fleeing from a renewal of the Soviet régime. On the roads from Ekaterinburg to Tiumen there were in round numbers some 17,000 carts, averaging 3 persons to a cart, together with led horses and cattle; 375 railway cars, carrying an average of 30

refugees each, had arrived at Tiumen. It was estimated that some 20,000 refugees had reached Omsk; hundreds more were arriving daily. The Russian authorities had established a camp on the edge of the town, and the Red Cross was assisting in feeding and caring for the sick and emergency cases; the problem of supplying aid was assuming vast proportions.

KOLCHAK'S APPEAL

The desperate nature of Admiral Kolchak's position was indicated in the following appeal to the people, issued early in August:

At this hour of anguish, when our troops, though harassed by incessant fighting since March, are nevertheless accomplishing their duty toward the country and will continue to do so to the very end, I address myself to the population free from the yoke of the Soviets.

We are in a death struggle with Bolshevism which cannot end by mutual understanding, because in this struggle we defend liberty against tyranny, civilization against barbarism. In this struggle we are not dealing with honest opponents, but with a band of robbers, composed of outlaws of all nations.

The methods used against us in this struggle are infamous; innocent people are martyred, undergoing violence and robbery. One cannot evade this struggle or its consequences as long as the enemy is not annihilated.

The only issue for us in this last and terrible struggle is to defeat the enemy or die. To be able to work in common and in peace, rally around the army; take the places of those who are no more; extend to the army every possible assistance, alleviate the burden which it is bearing, and defend it vigilantly against everything which can harm it from within.

Let every officer and every soldier fighting at the front feel and see the affection which the people are extending to him when grappling with the foe with all the heroism characteristic of the Russian soldier. A contented and united army, well equipped, is the assurance of our security and even of our very existence.

AMERICAN MISSION IN OMSK

Into this atmosphere of turmoil and confusion came Roland S. Morris, American Ambassador to Japan, and Major General William S. Graves, the chief commander of American forces in Siberia, who had been delegated by the

Peace Conference as a special mission to the Omsk Government to investigate the strength and permanency of the Kolchak Government. A series of conferences was begun on their arrival, which occurred on July 21. They called first at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and then visited Admiral Kolchak, head of the Omsk Government. The decision for or against formal recognition of the Kolchak régime, it was said, would depend on their report.

After three weeks of careful investigation Mr. Morris returned to his post at Tokio. His report had not been made public when the present article went to press, but Washington dispatches on Aug. 12 indicated that the Ambassador had found many disintegrating influences at work in Omsk, which seemed to foreshadow collapse, and that the report in general was unfavorable to immediate recognition of the Kolchak Government in the sense desired by its supporters.

ALLIES ACCUSE SEMENOV

The harmony of Admiral Kolchak's relations with the Allies was somewhat jarred by the arbitrary acts of General Semenov, the dominating figure in the Transbaikalian sector. The Interallied Railway Commission on July 18 dispatched a formal protest to the Omsk Government against violations of the interallied agreement regarding the operation of railways. These violations had been committed chiefly by the military station commandants, who sold tickets, allotted cars, and attempted general supervision of traffic, a duty assigned to the Technical Board of the American Railway Commission to Russia under the Chairmanship of John F. Stevens. The chief disturber, it was alleged, was General Semenov, whose removal from the zone where he could interfere with railroad operations was asked.

A second formal protest was made on July 26 by the British, French, Italian, and Chinese Governments, signed also by the American and Japanese members of the Interallied Railroad Board, against the interference of General Semenov with the operation of the railways in the sector mentioned. Immediate and radical steps were urged. John F.

Stevens had withdrawn all American inspectors from the Japanese-guarded sector, where General Semenov was active, until adequate protection was guaranteed.

ADMIRAL KOLCHAK'S REVERSES

Dispatches that reached Paris about Aug. 1 indicated that the impairment of morale occasioned by the Bolshevik successes was continuing, and that there was little hope of the Siberian armies regaining the territory lost. The Czechoslovak forces, it was stated, were also affected by the spirit of general demoralization, and refused to fight further on Russian soil. A Bolshevik wireless of July 5 said that Kolchak had sustained further defeat; Cheliabinsk had been captured, and after five days of fighting, in which Admiral Kolchak personally directed his army, the Siberian forces had been pushed back further and 4,000 men and considerable equipment had been captured. The Bolshevik troops had reached a point twenty-seven miles east of Cheliabinsk, and were still advancing unopposed.

Hopes that the Kolchak forces would rally were not fulfilled. On Aug. 11 the Washington authorities gave out official information that showed the possibility of imminent disaster to the Kolchak armies; it was stated that these forces had retired again 160 or 170 miles, this being the third extensive retreat made by the Siberian troops within a few weeks. Altogether, since the reverses started, the Omsk Government's army had retreated about 800 miles east of the positions it held last Spring.

Admiral Kolchak fully realized his desperate position, but continued to hope that he would be able to effect a reorganization of his demoralized forces.

The Soviet army, it was stated, was led by German officers, and outnumbered Kolchak's army in the ratio of three to one. The whole Ural front was in the hands of the Bolsheviks, and the evacuation of Omsk was regarded as imminent. The situation was still regarded hopefully, however, both by Admiral Kolchak and by M. Soukin, Acting Foreign Minister of the All-Russian Government. The reverses, while fully admitted by the Siberian leader, were in his opinion only

temporary, while the growth of his political power throughout Siberia was unmistakable. Various Siberian organizations were pledging anew their support to Admiral Kolchak.

AMERICAN ARMS FOR KOLCHAK

On July 29 it was announced from Washington that an American syndicate of financiers in New York had arranged to advance a loan of \$5,000,000 to the Omsk Government to enable it to buy foodstuffs and other necessities in this country, the loan to be secured by an equivalent value of gold bullion which the Kolchak Government had sent to Hongkong, there to be held, with a 5 per cent. margin as security, for the loan which the American bankers would make on a two years' term of repayment.

Material results of this arrangement became apparent on Aug. 13, when it transpired that the United States Government had authorized the shipment of large quantities of arms and supplies to the anti-Bolshevik forces in Siberia. Russian representatives had already received 260,000 rifles, with corresponding quantities of ammunition, and were shipping them from San Francisco on every outgoing vessel in the hope that they might reach Admiral Kolchak in time to save his forces from final defeat. These arms had been manufactured for the Kerensky Government, but had been withheld from shipment after Kerensky's overthrow by the Bolsheviks.

Communication was re-established on July 11 with the American military column in the Suchan district after more than a week's interruption, caused by skirmish warfare with the Bolsheviks. The Americans had driven the Bolsheviks into the hills, after their capture of five American soldiers, and had occupied a number of towns and villages. A company of Japanese troops co-operated. Other minor engagements were reported.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S STATEMENT

Regarding the question of withdrawal of the American troops from Eastern Siberia, President Wilson on July 23 informed the Senate, in response to a resolution by Senator Johnson, Republican,

of California, that the presence of American troops in Siberia was a "vital element" in the restoration and maintenance of traffic on the Siberian Railroad, and that under the agreement with Japan they could be withdrawn only when the American railway experts operating the road were withdrawn. The President's statement, which was a full exposé of the situation in Eastern Siberia, is given herewith:

For the information of the Senate, and in response to the resolution adopted June 23, 1919, requesting the President to inform the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interest, of the reasons for sending United States soldiers to Siberia, the duties that are to be performed by these soldiers, how long they are to remain, and generally to advise the Senate of the policy of the United States Government in respect to Siberia and the maintenance of United States soldiers there, I have the honor to say that the decision to send American troops to Siberia was announced to the press on Aug. 5, 1918, in a statement from the Acting Secretary of State, of which a copy is inclosed.

This measure was taken in conjunction with Japan and in concert of purpose with the other allied powers, first of all to save the Czechoslovak armies which were threatened with destruction by hostile armies apparently organized by, and often largely composed of, enemy prisoners of war. The second purpose in view was to steady any efforts of the Russians at self-defense, or the establishment of law and order in which they might be willing to accept assistance.

Two regiments of infantry, with auxiliary troops—about 8,000 effectives—comprising a total of approximately 10,000 men, were sent, under the command of Major Gen. William S. Graves. The troops began to arrive at Vladivostok in September, 1918.

Considerably larger forces were dispatched by Japan at about the same time and much smaller forces by others of the allied powers. The net result was the successful reunion of the separated Czechoslovak armies and the substantial elimination in Eastern Siberia of the active efforts of enemy prisoners of war. A period of relative quiet then ensued.

RAILWAY CORPS ORGANIZED

In February, 1919, as a conclusion of negotiations begun early in the Summer of 1918, the United States accepted a plan proposed by Japan for the supervision of the Siberian railways by an international committee, under which committee John F. Stevens would assume the operation of the Russian Railway Service Corps. In

this connection it is to be recalled that John F. Stevens, in response to a request of the Provisional Government of Russia, went to Russia in the Spring of 1917. A few months later he was made official adviser to the Minister of Ways of Communication at Petrograd under the Provisional Government.

At the request of the Provisional Government, and with the support of John F. Stevens, there was organized the so-called Russian Railway Service Corps, composed of American engineers. As originally organized the personnel of this corps constituted fourteen skeleton division units as known in this country, the idea being that these skeleton units would serve as practical advisers and assistants on fourteen different sections of the Siberian Railway, and assist the Russians by their knowledge of long-haul problems as known in this country, and which are the rule and not the exception in Siberia.

Owing to the Bolshevik uprising and the general chaotic conditions, neither Mr. Stevens nor the Russian Railway Service Corps was able to begin to work in Siberia until March, 1918. They have been able to operate effectively only since the railway plan was adopted in February, 1919.

The most recent report from Mr. Stevens shows that on part of the Chinese Eastern and Trans-Baikal Railway he is now running six trains a day each way, while a little while ago they were only able to run that many trains per week.

OUR TROOPS NECESSARY

In accepting the railway plan, it was provided that some protection should be given by the allied forces. Mr. Stevens stated frankly that he would not undertake the arduous task before him unless he could rely upon support from American troops in an emergency. Accordingly, as provided in the railway plan, and with the approval of the Interallied Committee, the military commanders in Siberia have established troops where it is necessary to maintain order at different parts of the line.

The American forces under General Graves are understood to be protecting parts of the line near Vladivostok and also on the section around Verchne Udinsk. There is also understood to be a small body of American troops at Harbin. The exact location from time to time of American troops is, however, subject to change by the direction of General Graves.

The instructions to General Graves direct him not to interfere in Russian affairs, but to support Mr. Stevens wherever necessary. The Siberian Railroad is not only the main artery for transportation in Siberia, but it is the only open access to European Russia today. The population

of Siberia, whose resources have been almost exhausted by the long years of war and the chaotic conditions which have existed there, can be protected from a further period of chaos and anarchy only by the restoration and maintenance of traffic along the Siberian Railway.

Partisan bands, under leaders having no settled connection with any organized Government, and bands under leaders whose allegiance to any settled authority is apparently temporary and transitory, are constantly menacing the operation of the railway and the safety of its permanent structure.

LOOK TO ALLIES FOR AID

The situation of the people of Siberia, meantime, is that they have no shoes or warm clothing; they are pleading for agricultural machinery and for many of the simpler articles of commerce upon which their own domestic economy depends, and which are necessary to fruitful and productive industry among them. Having contributed their quota to the Russian armies which fought the Central Empires for three and a half years, they now look to the Allies and the United States for economic assistance.

The population of Western Siberia and the forces of Admiral Kolchak are entirely dependent upon these railways.

The Russian authorities in this country have succeeded in shipping large quantities of Russian supplies to Siberia, and the Secretary of War is now contracting with the great co-operative societies which operate throughout European and Asiatic Russia to ship further supplies to meet the needs of the civilian population. The Kolchak Government is also endeavoring to arrange for the purchase of medical and other Red Cross supplies from the War Department, and the American Red Cross is itself attempting the forms of relief for which it is organized.

All elements of the population in Siberia look to the United States for assistance. This assistance cannot be given to the population of Siberia, and ultimately to Russia, if the purpose entertained for two years to restore railway traffic is abandoned. The presence of American troops is a vital element in this effort. The services of Mr. Stevens depend upon it, and, a point of serious moment, the plan proposed by Japan expressly provides that Mr. Stevens and all foreign railway experts shall be withdrawn when the troops are withdrawn.

From these observations it will be seen that the purpose of the continuance of American troops in Siberia is that we, with the concurrence of the great allied powers, may keep open a necessary artery of trade and extend to the vast popula-

tion of Siberia the economic aid essential to it in peace time, but indispensable under the conditions which have followed the prolonged and exhausting participation by Russia in the war against the Central Powers.

This participation was obviously of incalculable value to the allied cause, and in a very particular way commends the exhausted people who suffered from it to such assistance as we can render to bring about their industrial and economic rehabilitation.

Very respectfully yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

News from Soviet Russia was confined mainly to reports of the Red Terror, and of famine and pestilence raging in Petrograd. On July 18 it was said that 20,000 hostages had been arrested in the previous three weeks, and Petrograd newspapers published almost daily lists of from 50 to 100 persons who had been executed for various reasons. The names of all those in charge of the diplomatic archives of foreign legations in Petrograd appeared on these lists.

By Aug. 8 famine in the former capital had attained terrifying proportions, and an epidemic of dysentery was beginning to rage throughout the city. M. Zinoviev, Bolshevik Governor of Petrograd, issued a proclamation to agricultural organizations and the corn-producing districts, in which he said that the population of the city was receiving famine rations. Food prices in Petrograd had become fantastic, a small lump of sugar costing from 10 to 12 rubles and a pound of white bread selling at 120 rubles.

On Aug. 11 strikes were reported to be raging everywhere in Bolshevik-controlled territory. One hundred and fifty strike leaders were said to have been executed. The strikes were spreading, in spite of the Government's drastic measures. Peasants were refusing to deliver grain to the cities, causing the Government great embarrassment. General Vatis, former Commander in Chief of the Bolshevik forces, and his Chief of Staff had been arrested on the charge of organizing a counter-revolution.

Moscow at the Beginning of 1919

By LUDOVIC NAUDEAU

[STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE PARIS TEMPS]

M. Naudeau went from Paris to Petrograd soon after the first Russian revolution and remained there or in Moscow after the coming of the Bolshevik régime, recording its excesses for the Temps with increasing pungency of criticism until one day in the Summer of 1918 he was thrown into prison by the Lenin Government, along with other French residents. After nearly five months of confinement M. Naudeau was released at the beginning of 1919 and succeeded a little later in escaping from the Soviet republic. The following article embodies his impressions just before he left Moscow.

ALTHOUGH the well-policed society of the West, because of its traditional customs and its habits of mind, is almost unable to conceive it adequately, there exists at present a part of the world where the "great night of Communism" has substituted its own realities for the realities which seem to us normal. Moscow, the city of golden domes, the city of Emperors, is the chosen spot where the cycle of triumphant reforms and decisive reconstructions has been accomplished. The Spring of 1919 is beginning; the organizers of happiness are reaching the end of their labors. Let us contemplate it! Let us wander amid the marvels which have arisen in the enchanted city.

The creation of the Muscovite Icarus during the last months of 1918 was swiftly fulfilled, and the capital underwent changes almost instantaneous. One who found himself of a sudden in the streets, after having been deprived for four or five months of freedom of movement, observed toward Jan. 1 that three out of five shops were closed, yes, permanently closed, and that the two others were practically empty. This shows great progress! Snow-covered and almost deserted the Kuznetsky Most, (Bridge of the Farriers,) a street famous for more than a century for its cosmopolitan elegance, showed only locked and bolted fronts, wooden shutters, or else broken panes of glass through which one perceived, in great disorder, dilapidated counters or empty hat boxes. And everywhere in the whole big town the picture was the

same. There is no more commerce in Moscow. Thousands of salesmen and saleswomen are without work. Who, then, would deny the grandeur of the revolution?

Socialization spares no more the humble shop than the opulent store. Quite unexpectedly, one day, Red Guards arrive, bearing or not, as the case may be, a greasy document; they announce to the proprietor that his business has been nationalized, and that he has forty-eight hours to depart and carry away his belongings. But depart whither, to what refuge or with what means? The question is not asked. The community does not inflict on those whom it deprives of their possessions the humiliation of granting them an indemnity. It simply sends them to die elsewhere. And thus at all times one sees people drawing themselves on some primitive sledge the most indispensable piece of their furniture. These people are the denationalized ones, who, freed henceforth from all business cares, go forth seeking some place of refuge. * * *

THE NEW HEARTLESSNESS

The exportations and requisitions have sometimes shown a quality of stupid ferocity, the mere recital of which would demonstrate to Western Socialists all the specifically barbaric elements in the upheaval of the Russian world. In former days foreign specialists committed the error of believing that Russia, from the patriotic and military point of view, was comparable to the other great powers of Europe. But the war has revealed the emptiness of this illu-

sion. A simple tale among many others: What harm had those unhappy old men done, some paralytic, others blind, when the Red Guard came and drove them forth from the Invalid Home where their last days were coming to a close? These paupers, certainly, were inoffensive, and those who evicted them knew it. But the building occupied by these poor wretches was requisitioned by the Soviet authorities, and that was sufficient. The Soviet order had to be fulfilled, and fulfilled it was. Into the street they drove those unhappy wrecks of men, without inquiring previously for a single moment what other place of refuge they might find. Can you imagine this flight of blind and crippled old men through all the unknown eddies of a capital in time of revolution? It is almost unbelievable. Can Russians have committed such a frightful deed? We were always told that they were so accessible to pity, so compassionate, so mild! It would seem, after long consideration, that this still primitive people is charitable only when it is religious, when it feels itself committed to the Christian faith. Freed suddenly from this faith one would sometimes be led to believe that by a kind of retrogression it reverts to the savagery of early times. * * *

TORTURE BY HUNGER

Famine, famine, always famine! The classification of food cards in four categories places in the hands of the Soviet an irresistible means of intimidation and bribery. * * * Do you perceive the frightful means of persuasion which the Bolsheviks possess? Those who conspire, or who are accused of conspiracy, are shot. Those suspected are imprisoned. For the Intellectuals, who are most numerous, the interminable torture of hunger. At the beginning of 1919 how many thousands of Bolshevik agents are in reality unhappy men at the end of their strength, whom absolute necessity has compelled to join the usurpers? * * * Those who have finally joined the Bolshevik party deserve our pity rather than our resentment. * * *

Yes, undoubtedly, the alternative of suicide is always open. But must all the

survivors of the military cadets, must all members of the intellectual class, destroy themselves with their own hands in order not to have to eat the black bread of the Bolsheviks? No, our nature leads us to love life despite its cruelties, and to live on hoping for changes, new revolutions, better times; the hour of revenge. Little by little the *Intelligentsia* is compelled to enter the pay of the Bolsheviks; the only means it has of resisting them lies in the hidden resources which may still be in the possession of certain of its members. * * *

The dilemma before us is a crushing one. To feed Russia, while the present régime lasts, would mean confirming the power of the mad sect whom economic difficulties harass more and more and by which they are bound to be overturned; not to feed Russia and to continue the blockade means that, for the sake of embarrassing some of our enemies, we bring about the destruction of those of our friends who still remain.

The mere contemplation of the streets of Moscow aids the attentive observer to understand the frightful constraint suffered by those who might be tempted to resist the usurpers. Look about you, but be silent! Famine and epidemic ravage the town; in all houses there are dead and dying. Gaze, but be silent. Why? Because everywhere there are spies. Yes. Be silent. No criticisms. Those who have assumed the right to dictate in the name of the proletariat find no one to judge them. * * *

SOME IMPROVEMENTS

In Moscow for some time they have almost made the streets safe, and by shooting robbers they have made it possible, at least for the time being, to circulate about the capital without being robbed, which was virtually impossible before the Summer of 1918. They have caused to disappear from the public ways the hideous prostitution which sullied it; they have maintained rigorously the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic beverages, and waged bitter war on the speculators. I state these few results to prove that I am not prejudiced. But this is all that one could adduce in

defense of the madmen who have initiated civil war and terror, and who have replaced the revolution by a revolting tyranny.

Through the impenetrable mists, color of mingled soot and blood, which hover over this country, and wherein no eye can discern clearly the secret of the future, one truth, nevertheless, is obvious. The economic difficulties against which the Communists are struggling are daily increasing. We do not know when and how they will fall, but we cannot conceive how they can help falling. The incessant multiplication of Government notes has depreciated the ruble to a point incredibly low. The day is near when Russian money will have no further purchasing value. It is already disappearing, precisely because of the enormous amount of it issued. Already in numerous villages the peasants, in payment for their wheat, have preferred old overcoats, boots, or other second-hand objects to those rolls of ruble notes, with which they can buy nothing. More and more barter, direct exchange of merchandise, is being substituted for the normal course of commerce.

PROLETARIAT DISAPPEARING

Another disappearance, quite as alarming, is that of the proletariat itself, in a country whose dictators have assured us that they were dictating in the name of the proletariat. Little by little, before the destruction of Russian industry and the exodus of the workingmen toward the village whence most of them originally came, the agrarian question tends to overshadow all other revolutionary questions; little by little the opinions of the workmen, when they return to the soil, become the opinions of the peasants. Though the urban proletariat, itself half starving, may have sometimes approved those expeditions, those raids undertaken by the Red Guard of the large towns into the villages to discover hidden stocks of grain, the peasants, on the other hand, take up arms and fight bloody battles with the pillagers in order to defend the products of a soil which they have conquered and partially developed. And thus the poisoned currents of the shallow stream of the Bolshevik prole-

tariat tend to flow back and sink into the sands of the immense Russian plain, where these waters gradually lose their virulence. A proletarian, even a revolutionary, is quickly transformed, once he returns to the fields, into a cultivator intensely interested above all in advantageous distributions of land and problems of agriculture.

Cultivate! But how to cultivate tomorrow? It cannot be concealed that in certain provinces of Russia the hunger is so great that even the very seeds have been devoured. For a long time the Soviet has striven to drive bargains with Denmark to obtain from that country the indispensable seeds for future sowings. But the inexorable blockade prevents such expeditions from being carried out, and the distress consequently can but augment. Thus, wherever one may turn, one always sees the spectators of famine and death rise up before one and assume greater and greater proportions. * * *

TOTTERING SOVIET POWER

The situation of the Soviet is precarious, incredibly weak and shaky. But it has been so for so long a time that no one ventures to fix the time of the inevitable fall. The City of Moscow at the beginning of the year 1919 is pervaded with torpor and full of suffering; during the day all its vitality seems to be concentrated in the street-car lines, whose vehicles amid almost empty streets crawl slowly, overladen with human clusters, crowded, despite all regulations, even upon the platforms and buffers. Almost no passers-by, almost no carriages or wagons in the streets and squares, where revolutionary activity has allowed mountains of snow and ice to accumulate. In Petrograd also the street cars are running, but they are much less crowded than those of Moscow. Since the Spring of 1918 the old capital of the North, half evacuated and abandoned by the Soviet, has lost all life, all meaning even, and for a year the political and social life of Russia has been concentrated around the Muscovite Kremlin.

When night falls in Moscow certain lights in shop windows covered with posters gleam forth and unexpectedly evoke the idea of a civilized life, shining like a

distant reflection of joy and comfort. Incredible as it may seem, cinemas and theatres are packed every evening, and I heard before my departure that new theatres were being opened. Never have theatrical companies played better than now or with such success; hence in the principal houses it is almost impossible to obtain tickets unless one has bought them seven or eight days ahead. In January it was freezing in the unheated theatres; but did not one also shiver in one's own dwelling? Coal is as scarce as food.

All day long and for days at a time the unhappy middle-class citizen, closely wrapped in his fur coat, suffered in his unheated rooms when the temperature was 12 or 15 degrees below. Why, then, should one hesitate to go to the theatre, where at least a certain collective heat emanates from a human mass, and where some fiction, replacing sombre reality, brings to the heart of the citizens a little oblivion, a little illusion, a little dream?

One is frozen in the street, one is frozen in one's home, one is frozen in the theatre, in a country where combustibles abound! Russian houses are heated by burning wood, and Moscow and Petrograd are surrounded by forests. Several trustworthy persons have told me that they have seen on the very outskirts of these two cities enormous stocks of wood, not only cut, but dried, and ready for burning. If, therefore, there is no fuel in the two capitals, it is because the Bolsheviks have not been able, or did not know how, to transport these reserve supplies. The complete paralysis of transportation is manifest, not only on the great railway lines of Russia, but also within the confines of Moscow.

TASKS FOR THE BOURGEOIS

A whim of the dictators compelled all men and women under 45 years of age to descend to the street with pickaxes and shovels and for several days to do the work given in normal times to janitors and workmen. Their task was to clean the sidewalks and streets of a phenomenal amount of snow and ice which a negligence characteristic of these troublous times had allowed to

accumulate throughout the Winter. The opportunity to cause trouble to the unhappy, famishing people of the middle class was too precious to be allowed to slip; according to the law every one, man or woman, must do his task on the public street, and this obligatory Winter sport brought forth a number of pretty women and charming young girls whom one imagined to have left Moscow long before. But when the snow was piled up on both sides of the street, in high and thick intrenchments, the city had no vehicles to transport it to the quays of the Moskva. There were almost no horses and very few automobile trucks. Finally the enormous mass of congealed water remained where it was, or piled up in the public squares and gardens, awaiting only the first breath of May to reduce it to muddy pools. * * *

Sometimes, far off down the white and slippery streets, the passer-by, suddenly moved and even thrilled, hears voices singing in unison. Some slow melody well known to all, which evokes the time of Russia under the Czar, all the pomp of the vanished monarchy. The singing comes from regimental groups, which, marching with precision and with that measured step which recalls the old régime, intone the old warlike melodies, the old traditional airs set to words composed since the revolution, which proclaim the glory of the proletariat. Strange, this exhumation, this parody of customs so dishonored and vituperated!

BOLSHEVIST RECRUITS

On the avenues, on the squares, sad, emaciated recruits are being drilled by Sergeants with big mustaches. None of these new troops seems to have the least desire of fighting, and the majority undoubtedly detest the Bolsheviks, because they have torn them away from their accustomed life. But the fear of being shot keeps them in order, that threat of shooting which at all times and almost in all countries has been in analogous cases the most powerful means of persuasion. The leaders of the Red Army strive more and more to form under the red flag an imitation of what the old imperial army used to be; they have succeeded in mobilizing several

classes and in creating, at least from the military point of view, a semblance of something existing, while up to the Summer of 1918 even that semblance did not exist. This is what is meant when it is said that the Red Army has become a considerable force; it is certainly considerable, compared with the nullity of the preceding months and with the small forces hitherto opposed to it.

The bookstores are invaded, monopolized by the Soviet literature, harsh and repellent. The dictators dictate in book matters, as in everything. * * *

SAINTS OF THE NEW TIME

The Soviet has constructed in a few weeks the figures of the great reformers of poor humanity. On wooden sockets, where painted cloths simulate granite blocks, thick masses of clay represent Spartacus or Marat, Stenka-Razine or Karl Marx, and a number of other heroes and benefactors whose names I do not remember. They are everywhere, these images, clothed or naked, erect, seated, or crouching; some without bodies hold high their heads at the top of a long thin pedestal; others, perceived at night on park lawns, or as one comes around a path, have something sinister and phantastic about them. So all in Soviet Russia bears the mark of feverish improvisation, of ephemeral effort in the true sense of the word, and of a

result made to endure but for a single day.

Thus, without sensational episodes or stories by the way, in a monotonous and lifeless existence marked only by our increasing privations, passed by for me the short period between my release from prison and my final departure from Russia, during which I observed for the last time, buried beneath the snow, the extraordinary capital where the interminable great evening is prolonged. "There is nothing above Moscow," says the proverb, "with the exception of the Kremlin, and nothing above the Kremlin save heaven." Ah, heaven! Have I not seen with my own eyes the highest dignitaries of the Orthodox clergy languishing in prison? Five hundred churches vainly send up their belfry spires and praying towers into the depths of space. Lenin is still the new Czar of the Kremlin, the Czar of terror, and the Czar of hunger, and this Pope of Communism feels himself more infallible than the Pope of Rome. * * *

All this is too abnormal, too illogical to last. Reason will triumph. We do not yet know when the great evening will touch its inevitable end; we do not know when the dawn of liberty will rise, but we know, we feel, that this end will come; we divine that it is near; we believe that it will be in harmony with the requirements of justice.



Bolshevist Atrocities in Siberia

By JOHN A. EMBRY

[LATELY AMERICAN CONSUL AT OMSK]

Mr. Embry, for eight months the American Consul at Omsk, the capital city of the Kolchak Government, returned to the United States in July, 1919, and told the following official story of atrocities in Siberia and Eastern Russia, proofs of which he had obtained during his term as Consul:

I HAVE the photographs to prove what I am about to say concerning Bolshevism as it is enforced by Lenin and Trotzky and those under them. They are pictures taken by myself or by responsible American Red Cross officials. The horrors these pictures reveal came to light following the advance of the Kolchak forces, an advance that liberated from Bolshevist domination a strip of territory as long as the whole Atlantic seaboard of the United States.

At Ufa I made my own investigation as to what had happened during the period (November, 1918, to March, 1919,) that the Bolsheviki were in control. My first stop was at the County Court House, as we would call it here at home. There I talked with the people and learned that at sunset on the day that the Kolchak forces withdrew, back in November, the Bolsheviki had entered the city. The occupying force numbered about 1,500 men, a half-regiment in other words, of criminals, mercenaries, and riff-raff, some in uniform and some in civilian clothes.

The first thing the Bolsheviki did was to loot the town, and then the leaders met in the Court House and organized their Government, as they called it. At the head of this Government they placed the most cruel and outspoken of their leaders. They then appointed committees, one of them the so-called Extraordinary Committee on Investigation, a better name for which would have been the Committee on Executions. At the head of this committee they appointed a Lett, and this committee was given the power to put to death any man, woman or child suspected of being opposed to Bolshevism. Sentence could be and was pronounced without formality of trial.

That very night the Extraordinary

Committee issued an order that all persons who had held office were to be rounded up immediately, arrested, and brought before the committee. The Judges, the Aldermen, the Councilmen, and other leading citizens—that is, those who had not been able to escape—were promptly arrested, and all those who were known to be against Bolshevism or were suspected of being against it were taken that night into the public square and executed. In every instance the condemned were denied trial of any sort.

The President of the Ufa Council, or Local Government, at the time was seriously ill and in hospital. The Extraordinary Committee ordered him brought to the City Hall. He was hauled down in an invalid chair, sentence pronounced, and then the chair was wheeled out into the public square, and in order to show the people the extent of his power, the head of the committee, the Lett, whose name is Belt, himself fired the shot that ended the life of the former head of the Ufa Government.

MURDERED IN THE WOODS

A day or two after we arrived at Ufa our attention was attracted by crowds of people journeying in the direction of a large patch of woods. These persons, I discovered, were the relatives and friends of scores of men, women, and children who had met death, or had disappeared during the Bolshevist control. The snows which had covered the ground during the Winter had begun to melt, and melting disclosed the secret of the disappearance of scores of innocent people, among them women and girls, the latter of tender years. The Bolsheviki had taken these people from their homes and then driven them into the woods and murdered them. They were executed at short range, their

bodies being horribly mangled, and in some instances their skulls were crushed in with clubs. I have a photograph that shows twenty of these corpses, among them that of a 17-year-old girl. This picture I myself took in the woods near Ufa. Another picture shows another batch of unfortunates whose only offense was anti-Bolshevism and whose death sentences were executed in the woods on the Ufa front.

At what was once the Ufa High School I talked with a woman who had been a teacher there when the Bolsheviki entered. When the Bolsheviki came they lined up all the boys, the little ones as well as the big ones, and questioned them as to their sympathies. All who were not killed were put to work of the most menial kind, and the larger boys, against whom there was suspicion that they might be anti-Bolshevist, and therefore soon eligible for service under Admirable Kolchak, were taken out and shot.

The girls in the school were ordered to serve in the barracks of the Bolshevik soldiers, their taskmasters cursing and beating those who were not blessed with good looks. As for the good-looking girls, to use the words of their former teacher, they "suffered insults of the most horrible nature." She was too modest to go into details, but we who heard understood.

The Extraordinary Committee also named a great number of hostages, and after subjecting them to the most horrible treatment ended their sufferings by killing them and throwing the bodies into the river. When I was told the story of what happened to these hostages it was so terrible that I could not bring myself to believe, and then the snows melted and I saw the people searching among the bodies in the woods for relatives and friends, and then I knew that there was nothing too horrible to be true so far as the Bolsheviki who had control there were concerned.

That is, in brief, the story of some of the horrors that were perpetrated in Ufa. It is a story that is paralleled in practically every detail by what happened in other cities and towns in the liberated areas, the worst atrocities, as

the evidence shows, being committed just before the Bolsheviki evacuated at the time of the Kolchak advance.

Another town that suffered in a degree that no words can describe was Ossa, a city of about 30,000 inhabitants. Ossa was also in the territory liberated from Lenin-Trotsky domination by Kolchak. There again the melting snows disclosed a heart-breaking story. In Ufa the number of murdered people, whose fate was established when the snows melted, was not more than 200, but in Ossa the number was more than 2,000 and a photographic record of this atrocity was made by Colonel Teusler of the American Red Cross Mission to Siberia and has now reached the files of the Government in Washington.

SHOT WITHOUT TRIAL

Ossa, as did Ufa and all the other liberated towns, had during Bolshevik domination its own Extraordinary Committee for Investigation, which judged men and women without trial and shot them in the streets or woods like so many wild animals. The stories of cold-blooded murders and of the outrages to which women and girls were subjected are without number. Just substitute the name Ossa for Ufa and you will know what happened in the former city before Kolchak reclaimed it for civilized law and order.

Kurgan is a city of perhaps 35,000 people. It, too, was one of the cities liberated by the Kolchak advance. I officially know it to be a fact that while in control of that city the Bolsheviki murdered at one time—that is, at a single wholesale execution—more than 1,500 citizens of that place. In our American Consulate at Omsk we have employed a young woman of the finest character, who is a native of Kurgan and who was there during the period that the Bolsheviki were in control.

This young woman was engaged to marry a young Russian, a splendid fellow, who had worked hard all his life and had never harmed a human being. This young man came under the suspicion of the Extraordinary Committee for Investigation and was ordered ex-

ecuted. In his case they shot him and then severed the head from the body. The head was found by a friend, who took it to the girl, who is now in the American Consulate at Omsk. She buried it in the back yard of what was once her home.

The offenses against God and man committed in the City of Ossa were so numerous and so correspondingly terrible that the man or woman who has been so fortunate as not to see what I have seen must find it almost impossible to believe, but the story is true and the facts will in due time—very soon, I hope—be matters of official verification.

Bugulma is another of the liberated cities, and in that city the record of the Bolsheviks is more than 1,200 persons murdered and no man knows how many others subjected to cruelties and outrages, beside which execution, even in the Bolshevik manner of doing things, would be merciful. I might also tell you of the terrible sufferings, of the executions that took place in Petropavlovsk and scores of other cities and towns rescued from "the terror" by the forces under Kolchak.

The Province of Ufa had in normal times a population of more than 2,200,000 people. One of the best-known Judges as well as one of the most respected citizens of the province was Justice Kratkoff. His home was in the town of Belebei. The day that place was taken the Bolsheviks came to the home of the Judge and broke in with their bayonets, subjecting Mme. Kratkoff—the Judge was away at the time—to shocking insults. Most of the raiding soldiers were drunk and they appropriated everything in the house. All the criminals in the jail were released and told to do as they pleased. The Bolshevik leaders issued orders that the people were not to attend church, and in order to show their contempt for God and religion they desecrated icons and other religious symbols, in one instance placing on top of an altar a gramophone which was made to play non-religious tunes.

In the Belebei district there lived a man named Bickmeriff, who was the

manager of a printing office and who was as pacific a person as one could meet in a voyage around the world. When the Bolsheviks came to his home and said they intended to search it for firearms Bickmeriff smiled at the suggestion that he might be the owner of a deadly weapon, and that smile cost him his life. For, smiling, he was dragged before the Extraordinary Committee and then, without formality of trial or even taking time to tell him what his offense was, Belt, the Lett, ordered him to the public square to be shot.

Another instance which sheds light on the true conditions in those parts of Russia where Bolshevism holds sway is the case of Mme. Barbara Pavlovna Andreovna, the wife of a prominent physician of Bugulma. Mme. Andreovna, who has four sons fighting under Kolchak, was the librarian at Bugulma, a modest position that made it possible for her to eke out a fairly decent existence. When Bugulma was taken by the Bolsheviks the Red Guards came to her home and, showing an order from the Extraordinary Committee, began a search of her home. Practically everything of value was taken, and when the looting was ended the unfortunate woman, without being told why, was arrested and brought before the Extraordinary Committee.

The Extraordinary Committee, after looking her over, and without giving any reason for its action, ordered Mme. Andreovna locked up in the Bugulma jail. She was thrown into a cell crowded with other innocent people, where she was kept two days before she was informed of the charge against her. At the end of two days she was told that the crime she had committed was the alleged rebuking of two women who sympathized with the Bolshevik cause. The third day after her arrest she was taken from her first cell and placed in another cell with two men of the lowest type. For five weeks she was kept in prison, and of the sixty persons who were in prison with her, twenty were taken out and murdered, among them being the former President of the Zemstvo Uprava, a beloved and highly respected priest of the Russian Church, the President of the

Council of Professional Unions, and two prominent citizens whose only offense appears to have been the fact that they were landowners.

SHOT TO FALL INTO GRAVES

Another woman I know who was also in jail during the Bolshevik occupation of Ufa Province was a Mme. Demetiev. She saw six men lashed together in pairs and then hauled off to the cemetery, where they were backed up against their already dug graves and then shot down into the holes.

Those who were in jail and who escaped execution were continually informed of what happened to their comrades, whom they knew to be innocent of wrongdoing, and whose only crime was counter-revolution, which under the Bolshevik definition consists of anything and everything that is opposed to Bolshevism. Mr. Demetiev, the husband of my informer, was executed for having on his person a map or plan of his farm, which is sixteen miles distant from Bugulma.

Again, there is the fate of a boy who was the son of a farmer. The Bolshevik firing squad did not always cover up their victims after executions. Often the bodies were left unprotected and uncovered in the open graves. The boy I have in mind had been shot and left for dead. The father went to the grave and found him still alive. While he was trying to rescue the lad a squad of Red Guards happened along, and, going to the grave, discovered the boy was still alive. They immediately fired another volley into the wounded body of the boy, and this time the execution was a success.

In various places and at frequent intervals the Bolshevik authorities would publish the names of their victims for the purpose of terrifying the remainder of the population. There is the case of a man named Vornikoff, who was executed in the most torturing fashion imaginable. He was shot in the leg, in the

arm, in the head, and finally bayoneted in the stomach.

This is the story of M. Kaminski, a notary of Ufa. He was seated one afternoon, during the Bolshevik control of his town, on the porch of his home, conversing with Bishop Andreeff, when Red Guards came and informed him that they intended to search the house. After the search they carried Mr. Kaminski to the Court House and arraigned him before the Extraordinary Committee, preferring no charges. He was ordered locked up, and in the small room into which he was thrown he found many other resident citizens of Ufa, among them one of the Tolstoys, and E. B. Blumenthal, a Russian artist of national reputation.

Those men were thrown into prison and subsequently informed that they were under arrest for sabotage, counter-revolution, and speculation. They were kept in jail two days and were then, in the dead of night, taken to the river and thrown into the hold of a barge. There were ninety persons in the hold, among them Mme. Sophia Hedrofskaka, the principal of the famous Girls' High School of Ufa. The prisoners on the barge were searched and their money and valuables appropriated. The barge was towed a long distance down the river and during the voyage nine of the prisoners were ordered to the deck and none ever returned, nor had any of them been heard from up to the time I left for America.

Another instance, officially verifiable, is that of several girls who were arrested and charged with taking walks with officers of the Czechoslovak forces. All these girls were murdered in the regulation Bolshevik manner without trial and without a chance to say a word in their own behalf.

What I have told is the merest outline of the story. It would take a book to tell it in all its horrible details. It is a story the truth of which the American people are entitled to know.

An Officer's Experience With Bolshevism

By LIEUTENANT A. E. SHILLER

[Formerly of the Russian Army]

OUR division was still facing the German positions in the Autumn of 1917, although military operations had been suspended long ago. There were soldiers' committees working among our troops from early morning until late at night endeavoring to render the position of the officers as bad as possible. Important questions, such as the wholesale desertion of soldiers and the unauthorized sale of Government property, were absolutely ignored. I had for some time held the post of Divisional Adjutant, and had frequently had occasion to come in contact with the soldiers' committees, having at one time been elected a member of one of these committees. However, being an officer, each of my proposals, even if it were a measure to the advantage of the soldiers themselves, was turned down on account of their spirit of contrariness and senseless obstinacy. I was often obliged to show them the absurdity of their decisions on the simplest points, endeavoring to explain to them their inability to conduct independently any military operations.

At last I lost patience and refused to take part in these meetings, which achieved nothing. This made the soldiers suspect me of being a counter-revolutionist. As a rule, all those they disliked were dubbed counter-revolutionists. We once received an order from a Bolshevik leader to leave our positions and go to the aid of the Red Guard in the fight against the Ukraine. We were ordered to ruin and destroy our own Russian villages along the way, and to rob the helpless peasants of their last possessions. The soldiers called their ordinary committee meeting and the question of compliance or noncompliance with the order was to be voted on. After three days of quarreling and indecision, they resolved to leave the post.

We had to march 150 versts. On the way, after a short rest, several soldiers rushed into my hut and declared that I had no more right to a horse, and that they refused to take my effects

along. Thus I was left alone in a backwoods village. However, I soon found means of transportation, hiring a cart from the peasants and reaching our new position earlier than the division. The place was a small town filled with our troops. The soldiers had lost all military semblance, strutted in crowds through the streets and unceremoniously broke up stores, entered private residences and robbed the inhabitants of their property. Bazaars were established in the city square where the soldiers sold their loot for next to nothing; also Government horses, armament, and officers' effects.

MASSACRE IN KIEV

I was soon [December, 1917,] detailed on divisional business to Kiev, where I witnessed a terrible slaughter of peaceful inhabitants by Bolshevik troops, or rather by bands of bestialized ex-soldiers. I had a room at an inn that was occupied entirely by officers. I woke up in the morning from a terrific cannonading by heavy guns. The people ran panic stricken through the streets. Each endeavored to find some shelter from the fatal bullets. Soon there appeared groups of Bolshevik soldiers who seized everybody they met and shot them all down on the spot. The wounded were dispatched with bayonets. All they met on the way were destroyed. A continuous massacre was taking place in the streets and the screams of Bolshevik soldiers and whistling of bullets sounded all over town.

The turn of our inn came in due time. Finding that officers occupied it, the Bolsheviks, like beasts of prey scenting blood, began to direct machine-gun fire on the building. A hail of bullets rained into the windows. The officers, confined in the besieged building, began helplessly to seek an outlet. At first we tried to defend ourselves and to hold out as long as we could, but opposing only revolvers to machine guns and rifles was an impossibility. Before the house had been entirely surrounded we began to descend

from the third story by means of sheets and towels tied to each other, thus reaching the back yard, whence we penetrated into the cellars of the rear outbuildings of the inn.

It was impossible to hide there long from the vigilant eyes of the Bolsheviks. I decided to crawl with another officer along the rear to one of the neighboring streets in the endeavor to find safety. Several soldiers, serving in the inn, were with us in the cellars. Their position was almost safe, and I succeeded in getting one of them to exchange his coat and cap for mine. My officer's uniform could do him no harm, as his face was so unintelligent that even a blind man could detect the peasant in him. My companion did the same, and we cautiously crept into the street. We had not taken two steps when we were surrounded and seized by infuriated Red Guards, who wanted to shoot us on the spot. However, when they saw a patrol leading other arrested officers, we were given over to its keeping. I do not know to this day what was the fate of my unfortunate companion.

IMPRISONED WITHOUT FOOD

I was now among new companions in misery. We were pushed in the back with rifle butts and derided. We soon found ourselves in front of a large building, a school, as I learned later, and in the courtyard we were all registered. After this we were led into a small room, probably a classroom. We were over 100 men there, but in spite of the narrow quarters and discomfort, we breathed with relief at being rid of the rough convoy, our condition seeming infinite bliss after all the excitement we had lived through.

Time passed unnoticed until the advent of night. We exchanged confidences on what we had experienced. The night, however, was sleepless and endlessly long. We were kept thus confined for two days without any food whatever. All faces showed exhaustion from hunger, and each of us awaited with resignation and courage the fate which was to be dealt to us. We all grew reconciled to the thought that death was unavoidable.

Early in the morning of the third day we were taken to a large hall in the same house, where we joined a crowd of a thousand unfortunates, likewise awaiting their fate. A voice sounded from the depth of the hall calling out names in alphabetical order and dividing the crowd into two groups, left and right. I did not try to find out what these separate roll calls meant, being, like the rest, exhausted with hunger and fatigue. I was the prey of such indifference and apathy that I paid no attention to what was taking place around me. Awaiting my turn, I succeeded in reaching the window for the purpose of resting on the sill.

WHOLESALE EXECUTIONS

Suddenly I heard a volley fired, and I glanced out of the window into the yard, where I saw a horrible picture. All the officers whose names had been called were being taken into this dirty and narrow yard, which seemed from the third story a deep well or grave. Here they were being shot down in groups in full sight of the others awaiting the same fate. Among them I recognized several with whom I had been talking a few minutes ago. In spite of my weakness, I began to edge toward the fatal table of the Judge, so as to end the painful suspense and accept the same death as my comrades. I felt my turn approaching.

Suddenly I sensed a pull at my overcoat. I turned round quickly and saw before me the face of an unknown man.

"You are an officer?" he asked.

"Yes, I am an officer," I answered resolutely, "and do not wish to hide it." I continued to go forward.

"Say that you have just been taken out of jail," he whispered to me.

I knew that the Bolsheviks freed all those who had been confined in prison. These words stuck in my mind, and in answer to the question of the cruel Judge as to who I was, I instinctively said, "I have been let out of prison." Nothing more was asked of me, and he indicated the group of men on the right, where I found myself among dirty tramps. I was soon given some tea and bread, and I lost some of the weakness caused by two days of hunger.

A few hours later I found myself in the street and breathed more easily. Terror had slackened in the city. I wanted once more to see the face of my savior and to thank him for what he had done. He soon caught up with me. His plain face seemed kind and worthy of confidence. He was one of the prisoners freed by the arrival of the Bolsheviks. He begged me not to abandon him, so that we might escape from Kiev together. Another officer joined us on the way, and the three of us succeeded in leaving the city. Communication by rail had been interrupted and we were forced to walk. Notwithstanding its being Winter and the snow deep, we went forward rapidly, our aim being to get away as far as possible; no inclemencies of the weather could arrest our progress.

Having passed the night in a neighboring village, I bade farewell to my companions in the morning and continued alone on the way. I reached, without much difficulty, the City of Niejin, where I looked up some friends, who gave me shelter.

WITH A LAWLESS ARMY

I was not long allowed to rest in peaceful surroundings among friendly people, as I was under obligation to join my detachment. On reaching my division I could not recognize it; the depravity and lawlessness of the soldiers astounded me. Bad news came to me the very first day; my own horse, dearer than life to me, had been taken by the soldiers and was to be sold. My effects had likewise been stolen. This made me so indignant that I ordered my horse to be immediately returned to me, saying that I would get it back if it cost me my life. My words produced the desired effect, and the horse was brought to me the same day; but my relations with the soldiers were spoiled forever, and they again dubbed me a counter-revolutionary.

A few of the soldiers who had remained faithful to me brought news of plots being hatched against me. The hut in which I lived was three versts from

the city where the division was stationed. My life was full of disturbances. Day and night suspicious looking persons were tramping under my windows. I was under surveillance like a criminal and soon had to sleep with a cocked revolver. One evening a soldier rushed in quite out of breath and cried: "Lieutenant, you must flee immediately, because tomorrow you will be arrested and shot." I rode at once to my commander to report to him and the other officers what was going on.

In the night, carrying a small satchel, I succeeded in avoiding the sentinels placed to watch me, and reached a hut where I was expected by one of the soldiers who had remained faithful and who proposed to cast in his lot with mine. Upon reflection, I ordered the peasants' horses to be harnessed to a cart, so as to go to the railway station. The road was long and slippery, and only at dawn did we reach the desired goal. There was no train, and we had to wait a long time.

Suddenly I saw well-known soldiers' faces in the station, seemingly in quest of something, and I understood that they were looking for me. However, my position was not hopeless. The station master was likewise an officer, and he hid us in his room, where we calmly awaited the train. I was dressed as a private, and this helped me to avoid arrest and escape the perquisitions to which all officers going home were subjected. At length as in a dream I looked out from a car window upon the familiar suburbs of my native city, Petrograd, after an absence of three years at the front.

It is hard for Russian officers to realize the destruction of the great army which gave so many human sacrifices to the war. The Russian Army, before the revolution, lost in killed a greater number of men than all the other allied armies together. From the moment of the revolution the great army of Russia was transformed into armed bands of soldiers killing off their chiefs.

Causes of the Balkan Disaster

By GORDON GORDON-SMITH

[CAPTAIN ROYAL SERBIAN ARMY]

Captain Gordon-Smith went to the Balkans from London in 1915 as a correspondent for The London Graphic and The New York Tribune. He was with the Serbian headquarters staff from the attack on Belgrade to the final retreat through Albania, and was the only English-speaking correspondent who went through that campaign. In July, 1916, at the request of M. Pashitch, he returned to the Serbian headquarters at Saloniki, and was with the staffs of three Serbian armies up to the fall of Monastir. Later he was sent to Paris and London by Prince Alexander on diplomatic missions and became attached to the Serbian headquarters staff with the rank of Captain of Cavalry. Early in 1918 he was dispatched to Washington to advocate the raising of a Yugoslav legion for service on the Balkan front, and he has since remained there with the Serbian Legation. In the following article he reveals some inside facts obtained from high official sources during his long sojourn at the Serbian capital and at Saloniki.

NOW that the guns have ceased to thunder and battlesmoke no longer lies over Europe, the world can go back over the four terrible years it has just passed through and begin the attempt to fix responsibilities for the causes and the conduct of the war. The terrain is too vast and the events are too near us for any historian to get them at present in proper perspective over its whole extent. All that can be done for the time being is the preparatory work, the study of certain sections and episodes.

To this work I propose to make my modest contribution by writing of events in the Balkans. The diplomatic fiasco made by the statesmen of the Entente Powers in their Balkan policy will remain matter for wonder for future generations. The effect of the errors of the statesmen and diplomatists on the military side of the war was simply disastrous and had the effect of prolonging the war by at least two years. I would like further to put on record that all the statements I make are either based on personal observations made on the spot or on information obtained from M. Pashitch, Premier of Serbia; M. Coromilos, Greek Minister to the Quirinal; M. Boshkovitch, Serbian Minister to the Court of St. James's; M. Venizelos, Greek Prime Minister; Colonel Zivko Pavlovitch, Assistant Chief of Staff of the Serbian Army, and other

statesmen and soldiers who took an active part in the planning and conduct of the war on the Balkan front.

WAR LOST IN 1915

In 1915 the Allies lost the war. Fortunately for the world, they neither knew nor admitted this, but began a second war which ended with their victory over the Central Powers. And yet in the Spring of 1915 victory was almost within their grasp. But at that time the centre of gravity of the world war shifted over to the Balkans, and the second campaign of the Central Powers became the crucial point of the whole struggle.

In order to have a clear idea of the political and military consequences of the second Balkan campaign we must study the situation which existed at its commencement. To understand this completely we must in turn go back to the "beginning of things," i. e., the political and military constellation of the Balkan States as the result of the preceding wars.

The first of these was the war of the Balkan Confederation against Turkey. In the course of the year 1912 the Balkan States achieved what had long been regarded as impossible—the formation of a league against the common enemy, Turkey. With this end in view, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro signed an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance, and on Sept. 30, 1912, mobilized

their armies. Twenty-four hours later the Sultan also mobilized his forces. Exactly a week later Montenegro declared war on Turkey and was, on Oct. 18, joined by her allies.

After a campaign of three months the success of the armies of the Balkan League was such that Turkey, on Dec. 3, signed an armistice at Tchataldja. A peace conference was held in London, but no agreement could be reached, and hostilities were resumed. On April 20 a second armistice was negotiated and a fresh conference held, which this time reached a successful conclusion, the Treaty of London being signed on May 30, 1913. The victory of the Balkan League was complete; Turkey was practically driven out of the Balkans, the Allies seizing all her territories right up to Tchataldja, a few short miles from Constantinople.

This marvelous result was not received with unmixed satisfaction by all the great powers. Germany and Austria regarded it with ill-concealed displeasure. The latter State saw its dream of extending its territories to the Aegean shattered by Serbia's seizure of the Sandjak of Novi Bazaar, the narrow tongue of Turkish territory which ran up to the frontier of Bosnia and promised a path of invasion when the break-up of the Turkish Empire should offer an opportunity for Austria to realize her ambitions of seizing Saloniki. Germany saw her communications with the Ottoman Empire (which the Kaiser had for twenty years been drawing more and more into the orbit of German political ambitions) seriously menaced by a Confederation of the Balkan States and the consequent creation of a military force which would be perfectly capable, not only of holding its own against Austria-Hungary, but of wringing concessions from that country for the freeing of the sections of the Balkan race still under the yoke of the Dual Monarchy.

AUSTRIAN INTRIGUE

It was clear to both Vienna and Berlin that the close union of the Balkan peoples, forged in "blood and iron" by their brilliant and victorious campaign against Turkey, must, at all costs, be broken up.

This campaign had indeed been almost too successful. It had succeeded beyond the wildest hopes of the confederation, and the amount of captured territory far exceeded its previsions and expectations. This was the opportunity of the Central Powers. They at once began to intrigue, to sow dissensions among the Balkan Allies, by awakening appetites and desires which could only be realized at the expense of the common peace.

They found a favorable terrain at Sofia. The Bulgarian Nation, intoxicated by its victory, lent a willing ear to the insidious counsels of the Ballplatz and put forward excessive claims for territorial concessions in the conquered Turkish provinces. These were resisted by the Serbians, who took their stand on the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of Alliance, in which the main principles of the division of the conquered territory were laid down. It was further provided in that treaty that in case of disagreement the points in dispute should be submitted to the arbitration of the Czar of Russia, whose decision both sides undertook to accept.

It soon became clear that Bulgaria had no intention of fulfilling this part of her treaty obligations, and during the negotiations kept raising difficulty after difficulty. At the same time she kept secretly massing her forces so as to be in a position of superiority should there be an appeal to armed force.

BULGARIAN TREACHERY

Then came the crowning act of treason. During the night of June 29-30, 1913, the Bulgarian troops, without the slightest warning, made a sudden attack on their Serbian and Greek allies. Fortunately for Serbia her soldiers came of a sturdy race, and, the first moment of surprise past, they defended themselves with vigor. Twenty-four hours later both they and the Greeks, furious with wrath at this treacherous attack, took the offensive in their turn. Their indignation so fired their courage that the Bulgarians were driven from position after position. Bulgaria's difficulties became her enemies' opportunity. Rumania, which had long demanded a rectification of her frontier with Bul-

garia and the cession of the Dobrudja Province, took advantage of her embarrassments to press her claims, and, when these were resisted, she, too, mobilized her army, forcibly seized that province and marched on Sofia. Turkey, too, saw a chance of avenging at least a part of her defeat, and invaded the territory she had just lost and recaptured Adrianople.

Threatened thus from all sides, and with the Rumanian Army a few miles from the gates of Sofia, Bulgaria was forced to sue for peace, and on Aug. 6, 1913, the Treaty of Bucharest was signed and peace was once more re-established in the Balkans. This was interrupted for a few weeks by hostilities between the Serbians and the Albanians, which began in September and led to a slight extension of the Serbian frontier in the direction of Albania.

CONFEDERATION DESTROYED

But though the Central Powers were thus disappointed in their expectations as to the results of the second Balkan war, they had succeeded in their main object, which was the breaking up of the Balkan Confederation. They had sowed seeds of undying hate between the Bulgarians and the other Balkan States, and created at Sofia a new centre for Austro-German influence. The fashion in which Bulgaria had openly flouted the wishes of Russia and insulted the Czar by rejecting his offices as arbiter between the Balkan peoples had completely estranged the Petrograd Government.

Bulgaria's German-born King was known to be the zealous agent of German influence and secretly hostile to the powers of the Entente. So notorious was this that Serbia and Greece, for their common protection, signed a strictly defensive treaty of alliance, each undertaking to come to the assistance of the other if attacked by a third power. This treaty was negotiated by M. Boshkovitch (the late Serbian Minister in London) and M. Coromilos, and was signed by M. Boshkovitch and M. Venizelos.

Such was the situation in the Balkans during the months which preceded the outbreak of the world conflict. It must be carefully kept in mind, as it explains

much regarding the action of the Central Powers and renders still more astounding the errors of the diplomacy of the Quadruple Alliance.

But if outward peace reigned in the Balkans the Serbians had no doubt as to the sentiments of the Central Powers, especially Austria-Hungary, toward them. Austria, which had nearly half her army mobilized during the Balkan conflict, was a constant menace, and the Belgrade Government knew that an attack from that side was daily becoming more and more probable, an attack which every one saw would be the signal for a general European conflagration. All that was wanting was the pretext. This was found in the assassination on June 28, 1914, at Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. This was alleged by Austria to have been plotted in Belgrade with the knowledge and connivance of Serbian officials. Then followed the famous ultimatum presented by the Austrian Minister at Belgrade to King Peter's Government. It was clear that it was not meant to be accepted. Germany and Austria had decided that the hour for the war they had long been plotting had struck. The action of the Ballplatz was merely intended to *declancher le mouvement*.

FIRST AUSTRIAN ATTACK

The declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, was immediately followed by an attempt to invade Serbia. From the very first the inability of the Austrians to overcome the resistance of the Serbs was manifest. All their attempts to cross the Danube and the Save were repulsed. It was only when they made a further attempt from the Bosnian side of the Save that they succeeded in passing on to Serbian territory and captured Shabatz. But their success was short lived. A few days later, by the battle of Tzer, the Serbs drove back the invaders and hurled them in confusion across the Save and Drina.

Unfortunately for Serbia, this effort exhausted their stock of munitions. When the Austrians realized this they returned to the attack. As the Serbs were without shells for their artillery or

cartridges for their rifles, they were forced to give way and had to retreat from Northwestern Serbia to Rudnik. This entailed the evacuation of Belgrade. This discouraged the army, and thousands of men returned to their homes. At the psychological moment, however, the Allies were able to come to the aid of the Serbs and reprovision them with munitions. Instantly the whole situation changed. The Serbian Army under Field Marshal Mishitch (who showed on this occasion a great spirit of initiative and decision) had shrunk to less than 100,000 men. They attacked the 400,000 Austrians on the Rudnik-Souvorov line with such vigor that they hurled them back in confusion. In a few days Serbian territory was cleared of the Austrians. A proof of the national spirit was seen in the fact that the army, which was less than 100,000 strong when it began the attack, counted a quarter of a million bayonets by the time it reached the Drina, the Serbian peasants streaming back to the colors the instant they heard that munitions had arrived. Over 60,000 prisoners were taken by the Serbs, together with an immense amount of war material, guns, munitions, pontoon trains, field telegraph material, baggage trains, foodstuffs, and war stores of every kind.

FIGHTING SPOTTED TYPHUS

So complete was the catastrophe that the Austrians, for the time being, abandoned all further attack on Serbia, and that country could enjoy a much-needed period of comparative repose. But an epidemic of typhus, which had broken out among the Austrian troops at Valjevo during the occupation, began to spread all over the country. The Serbian soldiers, exhausted by three years' campaigning, fell victims to it by thousands. In the towns and villages, crowded with fugitives from the invaded districts, the disease made frightful ravages. It was the terrible variety known as spotted typhus. The existing sanitary organizations proved utterly unable to cope with the outbreak. Hundreds died on public roads and in the streets of towns; in fact, scenes were witnessed such as had not been chronicled since the outbreaks of the black death in the Middle Ages.

The Serbian Government appealed for aid to their allies, and France, Britain, and Russia sent hundreds of Red Cross units. The Scottish Women's Ambulance, and the organizations under Lady Paget, Mrs. Hankin Hardy, Dr. and Mrs. Berry, and Mrs. St. Clair Stobart worked night and day among the stricken people. They fought the outbreak foot by foot with admirable courage. Many doctors and nurses fell victims to their devotion. But science and heroism prevailed. Slowly but surely the number of cases diminished, and by the end of April the last traces of the epidemic had been stamped out. But over 70,000 had succumbed to the terrible scourge, and this in a country whose population had died by tens of thousands in three years of ceaseless war.

THE CIRCLE OF STEEL

Meanwhile in France, after the victory of the Marne, the Germans had "dug themselves in." A line of trenches such as the world had never before seen had been constructed from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier. These were manned by 2,000,000 men on either side, and the position was reduced to one of "stalemate." On the Austro-Italian frontier a similar situation existed. On the other side of the Adriatic the line of defense of the Allies was continued by Montenegro and Serbia to the point where Serbian territory reached the Rumanian frontier. Rumania, though neutral in the struggle, had, like Switzerland, practically mobilized her army since the beginning of the war, and fortified her frontiers from end to end. On the other side of Rumania began the Russian line of intrenchments running from Bessarabia to the Baltic.

Germany and Austria were thus surrounded by a circle of steel on which bristled 10,000,000 bayonets. It was for the Central Powers a question of life and death to break this *encerclement*, which was slowly but surely strangling them. France, Italy, and Russia (in spite of a momentary German success in the latter country, which only had the effect of widening, but not breaking the circle) were daily increasing the pressure. Turkey, cut off from all communication with the Central Powers and

from the outside world, was daily in danger of collapse. This would have meant the fall of Constantinople, the opening of the Dardanelles, the entry of the allied fleets into the Black Sea, and the reprovisioning of Russia with munitions and war stores of all kinds, the want of which had rendered possible the momentary success of Austro-German arms in Poland.

It was clear to the meanest intelligence that the prevention of this was a vital question for the Central Powers. The Ottoman Government was running short of munitions, and if the supply was not renewed the success of the attack on the peninsula of Gallipoli was certain. With the entry of the British fleet into the Sea of Marmora the fate of Constantinople would be sealed.

SECOND ATTACK ON SERBIA

In order to prevent this, Germany and Austria, in the Spring of 1915, began to mass troops in Hungary with a view to forcing their way through Serbia to Constantinople. In the month of July the French aviation service attached to the Serbian Army reported the commencement of this concentration. The Belgrade Government saw the danger. The military position in Serbia, in spite of the fact that every instant of the six months' respite from actual warfare had been utilized to rest and recruit the army, to call out and train the new "classes," to refill the depleted arsenals, and to accumulate foodstuffs and war stores of all kinds, was a critical one.

When, therefore, in July, 1915, it became evident that the country was threatened with a fresh attack and that this time the Austrian Army was to be reinforced by German troops, the Serbian Government was of opinion that it could no longer resist the aggression single-handed. It therefore appealed to the Allies for help.

It is from this moment that the greatest military and diplomatic failure made by the Allies in the present war dates. Instead of themselves sending the military aid (200,000 men) demanded by the Serbians, the Russian, British, and French Governments declared they would obtain this from Bulgaria. This reply

caused consternation in Serbia. It was in vain, however, that M. Pashitch and his colleagues pointed out that Bulgaria was their worst enemy, that she had, at the instigation of Austria and Germany, neutralized the effects of the victorious war against Turkey by abandoning her Greek and Serbian allies, and had treacherously tried to stab them in the back; their objections were brushed aside and the Allies began negotiations with the Sofia Government. Serbia was to be left to defend the Danube against the coming Austro-German invasion, while Bulgaria was to be induced to march on Constantinople as the ally of the Entente Powers.

ALLIES' OFFER TO BULGARIA

In order to get Bulgaria to do this the Allies offered to obtain for her from the Bucharest Government the retrocession of the Dobrudja Province wrested from her by Rumania after her defeat by Serbia and Greece; from Serbia, a large portion of Macedonia and the cession by Greece of the towns of Cavalla, Drama, and Seres. If the Allies had desired deliberately to cool all enthusiasm for their cause in these States they could not have proceeded otherwise. M. Radoslavoff, the astute Bulgarian Premier, acting on instructions from Berlin, pretended that a basis of settlement might be found on these lines and embarked on a series of deliberately long-drawn-out negotiations.

It was at this moment that I left Switzerland, where I then had been following the progress of the French campaign in Alsace, for the Serbian capital, which had been temporarily established at Nish. En route I stopped at Rome to see M. Coromilos, the Greek Minister to the Quirinal. M. Coromilos had been Minister of Foreign Affairs during the war with Turkey and during the Greco-Serbo-Bulgarian war which followed it. He it was who negotiated the famous treaty creating the Balkan League which made the victory over Turkey possible, and, later, the Greco-Serbian Treaty which Greece failed to observe when the occasion arose. He has a knowledge of Balkan affairs such as few European statesmen possess.

BULGARIA'S DOUBLE GAME

I found him aghast at the policy being pursued by the Allies. "What does it all mean?" he asked me. "We know beyond a shadow of a doubt that Bulgaria is pledged up to the hilt to the Central Powers. She has asked and obtained from them a loan of 250,000,000 francs in gold; she has come to terms with Turkey, the power the Allies expect her to attack, and has received from her a cession of territory. She is, to our certain knowledge, preparing night and day for war. We keep sending dispatch after dispatch, telegram after telegram to this effect to London, Paris, and Petrograd. The Serbian and Rumanian Governments are doing the same, but nothing we can say or do has the slightest effect. The Allies inform us that Bulgaria is the most loyal, honest, and upright nation in the world, and that her support of their cause is beyond all question. We know that the contrary is the case, but MM. Sazonoff, Delcassé, and Sir Edward Grey turn a deaf ear to all we say. It is the most extraordinary situation I have ever seen, and can only end in disaster. If the Allies persist in their present policy, in three months the Serbian Army will either have surrendered or be in Albania."

Ten days later I saw M. Venizelos in Athens, and he confirmed every word M. Coromilos had said. "We are completely at a loss," he declared, "to understand the aberration of the Allies. But to all the Balkan Governments tell them they turn a deaf ear. They drag on negotiations with our worst enemies when a child could see that they are being fooled by the wily Bulgarian Premier, who is acting under orders from Berlin and Vienna. He is dragging out the pretended negotiations in order to give the Central Powers time to concentrate their armies against Serbia."

CONSTERNATION IN SERBIA

When I reached Nish I found that consternation reigned. The Government was in despair at the diplomatic action of the Allies. The Serbs, however, determined, as their allies seemed unwill-

ing to help them, that they would make every effort to meet the crisis single-handed. Field Marshal Putnik, the Chief of Staff, gave orders that 80,000 men should be concentrated at Pirot, the Serbian frontier town facing Sofia and only three days' march from the Bulgarian capital. It was his intention, the instant King Ferdinand signed the decree of mobilization, to hurl this force across the frontier and march on Sofia, if possible capture the King and Government, and break up the Bulgarian mobilization and concentration. Then when he had disposed of the Bulgarian menace the Serbs could turn their whole force on the Danube front to meet the rush of the Germans. Colonel Pavlovitch, the Assistant Chief of Staff, who aided Field Marshal Putnik in drawing up this plan, assured me that the Serbian Army would have been in Sofia on the fifth day, as there was only a feeble Bulgarian force of about 20,000 men between Pirot and the Bulgarian capital.

Then the moment arrived when, the Austro-German armies being concentrated, Bulgaria threw off the mask and mobilized her army. And then came the crowning error of the Allies. Field Marshal Putnik, the Chief of Staff of the Serbian Army, telegraphed to London, Paris, and Petrograd asking permission to march the Serbian Army across the frontier and attack the Bulgarians before they had completed their concentration. Not only was permission refused, but Serbia was categorically forbidden to break the Balkan peace and told if she did so the Allies would leave her to her fate. At the same time Sir Edward Grey sent for M. Boshkovitch, the Serbian Minister to the Court of St. James's, and gave him the astonishing assurance that the Bulgarian mobilization was not directed against Serbia!

When this was communicated to M. Pashitch, the latter was completely at a loss to understand the action of the Allies. All reports received from the frontier showed the Bulgarians were massing for attack, and yet Sir Edward Grey assured him of the contrary. The Serbian Premier could only conclude that some secret agreement existed which

had not been communicated to him and that the Bulgarians were fooling their German allies and intended at the eleventh hour to come over to the Entente.

THE INEVITABLE DISASTER

M. Pashitch therefore decided to obey the Allies in every particular and show that Serbia at least would not break the Balkan peace. He therefore ordered the Serbian Army, in order to avoid all danger of a Serbo-Bulgarian "incident," to withdraw five kilometers from the Bulgarian frontier (thereby giving up the important position of Saint Nicholas, which the Bulgarians occupied without firing a shot) and announced that any Serbian officer who should provoke any frontier incident would be pitilessly shot. Having thus tied the unfortunate Serbia hand and foot, the Allies looked on helplessly while the Central Powers and their Bulgarian ally proceeded to cut her throat.

A week later came the inevitable crash. Three hundred thousand Austro-German troops began a tremendous attack upon the Danube front, while 400,000 Bulgarians were hurled across the western frontier. Field Marshal Putnik, with his 250,000 Serbs, performed prodigies of valor. For two long months he faced overwhelming odds. Cut off from all communication with the outside world, the Serbs fought with the courage of despair. But human strength has its limits, and on Nov. 24 the wreck of King Peter's army left Serbian territory and began its fateful march across the mountains into Albania. The triumphant invaders were masters of Serbia.

Direct communication was established between Berlin and Constantinople, and thousands of tons of ammunition were poured into Turkey. The first result of this was the abandonment by the Allies of the now hopeless enterprise in the Dardanelles. The Danube front was really the front-line trench of the Gallipoli position. Once it was carried, that position became untenable. A month later Montenegro fell, Albania was invaded, and the remnants of the Serbian Army were driven to take refuge in Corfu.

Such were the fruits of the incredible errors of the diplomacy of the Allies. The Saloniki expedition, as far as the saving of Serbia was concerned, was foredoomed to failure from the first. It was *la moutarde après le dîner*, as our French friends would say.

GREAT OPPORTUNITY LOST

But it is when we consider what would have happened if the Allies had listened to the counsels of the Balkan Governments that the colossal nature of the errors committed becomes evident. As far back as July, when the Austro-German menace first became apparent, the Serbian Government urged the Allies to send 250,000 men to the Danube front.

If this had been done the Austro-German armies would have found themselves opposed by 250,000 Anglo-French troops and 250,000 Serbs. M. Bratiano, the Rumanian Premier, informed M. Pashitch that if the Entente gave this pledge of good faith Rumania would at once come into the war. This would have meant an additional 600,000 men at the disposal of the Allies, making a total of 1,100,000 bayonets on the Danube front. In these circumstances M. Venizelos, who was then in power, would have forced King Constantine's hand, and 300,000 Greeks would have swelled the forces of the Allies.

If this had taken place, Bulgaria would not have dared to move, or, if she had, would have been disposed of at short notice. The result would have been the creation of a fourth front for the Central Powers, which they could not have defended with less than 1,000,000 men. And these they had not got. Then would have followed the march across the Hungarian pusta to Budapest. With Vienna menaced from two sides, Austrian resistance would have been broken, and Germany would have been face to face, single-handed, with Europe in arms, and defeat in a few weeks, or, at most, months, would have been certain.

That this result was not achieved is due to the fact that the diplomats of the Allies allowed themselves to be deceived by the astute politician, M. Radoslavoff,

and his German-born sovereign. One of the bravest and most liberty-loving nations of Europe was, for the time being at least, wiped out of existence and abandoned to the horrors of invasion and occupation. The French Nation at once drew the logical conclusion from the errors committed. M. Delcassé, Minister of Foreign Affairs, resigned, and the Viviani Ministry was driven from power. But the British evidently failed to com-

prehend the almost criminal incompetence of the men in power, and Sir Edward Grey remained in office to work further havoc with British foreign policy.

The Allies did not even profit by the lesson, as the crushing of Serbia was followed by the occupation of Montenegro and the invasion of Albania without their making any apparent effort to save these countries from their fate.

Bulgarian Atrocities in Macedonia

Official Report of the Interallied Commission—Manifold Crimes Established and Described

THE Interallied Commission duly authorized by the Peace Conference to investigate the charges of Bulgarian atrocities in the Greek Province of Eastern Macedonia during the Bulgarian occupation from August, 1916, to the time of the signing of the armistice, compiled and presented to the council a long and detailed report of the results of its investigations. The report was in two parts, one covering the whole field, the other consisting of documentary and sworn evidence confirmatory of the conclusions reached. In the introduction to the first part the commission describes its visit to Eastern Macedonia, the thoroughness of the method pursued in verifying and sifting all evidence; its searching examination of 330 out of 493 localities affected; its carefulness in obtaining documentary and specific evidence. On the ground that the Bulgarian occupation of the province was from the first cruel, barbarous, and destructive, the report draws no distinction between the first period of occupation to the moment when (June, 1917) Greece declared war upon Bulgaria, and the following period ending with the signing of the armistice.

The report of the Interallied Commission begins as follows:

The Orthodox population was thrown into a panic on the announcement of the Bulgarian invasion in the month of

August, 1916, but the administrative and military authorities were able to allay the fears and stay the exodus of the inhabitants by reasoning and proclamations. However, several thousand Greeks crossed the Struma or embarked at Cavalla, and in doing so they acted wisely.

Immediately after the departure of the Greek gendarmerie and troops the Bulgarian command threw off its mask and the province was treated not as a friendly but as a conquered country. The old racial hatred and the appetites which had been so carefully dissimulated were boldly unveiled and a régime of oppression began to weigh on the population.

The 7th Division, commanded by General Rousseff, occupied the prefecture of Serres; the 10th Division, commanded by General Boulmoff, occupied the prefecture of Drama, (division Belo Morska;) later on, General Daneff, with headquarters at Drama, became the Military Governor of the province; the Comitadjl Panitza was Director of Public Safety at Drama; the Comitadjl Charalambos Panboukoff filled the same office at Serres.

It is a fact that the comitadjis were operating side by side with the regular troops; they were not only tolerated but even recognized by the military command on whose account they were acting as policemen and counterspies.

Certain portions of the 58th Turkish Division put in an appearance for a few months, but they played a secondary part in the occupation. It is the Bulgarian command which had the supreme authority over the province, and which administered and governed it. The Turks only played the part of accomplices; but in the district of Pangaion it is clear that

they are responsible for a large part of the crimes which desolated this district.

TORTURES AND TERRORISM

The report continues as follows:

The Greek authorities were from the very first totally ignored; under the pretext of security and counterspying the Bulgarian command hastened to persecute the leaders of Hellenic sentiment and spread terror among the population by the brutality with which it treated the arrested and imprisoned persons. The number of arrests was very great; the fact that the testimonies coming from all directions and from all classes of citizens are unanimous excludes all idea of a fraudulent understanding and creates the certainty that the people imprisoned were subjected to veritable tortures. Arrested brutally, they were left without food for several days. Flogging was administered with barbarity and very few victims received, without losing consciousness, the twenty-five strokes with the cudgel according to the regulations, each one of which tore the flesh and called forth from the victim howls of pain until he fainted and was no more than a gasping and suffering object. At times the tortures were inflicted in secret, at times they took place publicly with a view to impressing the prisoners. Numerous are those who succumbed to this torture or who are maimed.

Very often those arrested disappeared, leaving no trace behind them; the number thereof is imposing. The corpses of a few have been found half buried or in wells where they were thrown.

Among those who disappeared is the Metropolitan of Eleftheriopolis; Mgr. Germanos was arrested at Pravist on Feb. 11, 1917, on the charge of spying and was imprisoned until July 6, 1917; at this date Major Samardjieff and Major Giovan Tambakoff, accompanied by four soldiers, took him out in chains, and ever since no one knows what has become of him; he was probably murdered. During his imprisonment the young boys, Christos Epimenidis and George-Lazare Papavassiliou, aged 10 and 12 respectively, and the parents of the former, were questioned by Lieutenant Teneff and Major Zivetkoff, who tortured them with a view to drawing some admission from them. After laying them on the floor they knelt on their chests; these children left the place spitting blood, and both of them died three weeks after their examination.

At Vissotcheni there were found in a well near the village the decomposed corpses of nine persons, among whom was recognized Kariani of Prositchani, a rich tobacco merchant who had been imprisoned and from whom considerable sums of money had been extorted.

At Serres the witness, Nicolas Nicolaidis, was tortured in the presence of an officer and several soldiers by a non-commissioned officer who forced pieces of wood between the flesh and the fingernails of his victim.

VILLAGERS BEATEN TO DEATH

At Serres four villagers guilty of transgressing the orders as to going about were hung by their feet from an iron beam and beaten to death; Captain Georgieff and his adjutant, Lieutenant Simeonoff, were present at the execution. The same treatment was inflicted on several occasions in the districts of Provista and of Serres.

At Paleokolis, the witness, Elias Petro-mandili, was laid on his back and beaten on the soles of his feet, which were slightly raised. The collection of and search for hidden arms were, in addition to spying, a pretext for imprisonment, beating, brutality, and murder. Moreover, a certain number of Greeks were interned in Bulgaria on account of their political opinions.

All these acts, committed by regular troops and by comitadjis, spread terror among the public; this was aggravated by the fact that some fanatical Mussulmans, encouraged by the events, took part, too, in the cruelties against the Orthodox Greeks, particularly in the regions of Pangaion and Drama.

The terrorized population was unable to look after its security, owing to the various measures which restricted its liberty; thus, traveling from one place to another was prohibited; no one was allowed to emerge from his house after dark under any pretext whatsoever, and all lights were forbidden. Any infraction of these regulations was punished by imprisonment or beating to such an extent that the neighbors had to remain deaf to all cries of distress and to all appeals for assistance from those of the inhabitants who had been arrested, robbed, or even assassinated during the night.

As a consequence, a fatal insecurity spread throughout the province; thefts, acts of pillage, murders, and the seizure of persons became frequent. Many hundreds of persons perished from violent death or disappeared. The convent of Iconofinici was attacked and pillaged by an armed band, and was despoiled of all its wealth of art and archaeology as well as all its objects of value.

At Indjes, at Tselepiani, at Rachova, &c., many persons were assassinated. Most often, the effect of any complaint was that the complainant was treated brutally and then sent away.

ROBBERY AND ENSLAVEMENT

The first act of the Bulgarian command was to lay hand on all the crops

of the province; cereals, public and private stores of supplies and provisions were confiscated from one end of the province to the other. Houses and shops whose owners had fled were declared Bulgarian property. Crops were seized, and cattle; when the Bulgarians hastily withdrew after the signing of the armistice they took with them all the animals that they had stolen, leaving an urgent problem for the Hellenic Government to resolve. Many houses were demolished and the wood carted away for burning. Ninety-four villages were wholly destroyed and everything pillaged by the Bulgarian troops.

Both before and after the declaration of war by Greece against Bulgaria the population was subjected to forced labor. Fear of an attack from the sea led the Bulgarians to erect a series of temporary defenses from the mouth of the Struma to the Nestos River; the labor on these defenses was forced from the civil population under revolting conditions; brutal enrollment, excessive labor, corporal punishment, often causing death, insufficient food, composed only of bread and broth, no shelter, no remuneration. Abundant evidence exists of the violence with which the workers were recruited and the brutality of their treatment; many of them succumbed to the blows and others were crippled. Even the women were punished with severity. Chryssanthi Carambella of Podogoriani, her mother and her two sisters, were first stripped bare and then flogged by the soldiers; her young sister, Theodora, died as a result of the blows.

The spoliation of the property of the inhabitants was rampant throughout the province. The Government, the high command, the officers, the soldiers, the comitadjis, all manifested a cupidity which stopped at nothing. The first requisitions, already described, initiated these spoliations. The next step was the imposition of a forced circulation of depreciated Bulgarian paper money; copper, cotton, and wool, all of which the Bulgarians needed, were forced from the inhabitants, already suffering from famine.

Dispensation from forced labor was

granted for large money payments. Subsidies were levied on whole communities. The library of Imarette of Cavalla was robbed of inestimable treasures; a number of churches were despoiled. All furniture, objects of value, cloth, linen, funds were pillaged and taken away, no receipt being given. The commission found in Drama four depots half filled with furniture as a result of this official pillage. As much as 200,000 onques of tobacco at Cavalla were carried away. Public buildings, schools, convents, villages, after evacuation, were stripped bare. All these were public and official acts.

The army and the comitadjis, co-operating, committed innumerable other acts of theft, pillage, violence, and assassination. Domiciliary visits were multiplied; money was extorted, favors and influence cynically sold by high and low. All persons known to the comitadjis as possessing savings were the objects of measures obliging them to purchase their peace. It was a veritable hunt for gold.

FAMINE DELIBERATELY PLANNED

To all these evils was added a still more redoubtable scourge—famine—resulting from the criminal intentions of the Bulgarian Government. It is, says the report, an undisputed fact that Eastern Macedonia—that rich and fertile province—suffered from famine atrociously, and that many thousands of persons succumbed to it. "But," it continues, "of what the commission has been able to convince itself and what it desires to bring into clear light is that this destructive famine was deliberate, organized, maintained, and exploited by the Bulgarian command."

Depriving the country of all its crops and supplies at the outset was a serious act. To this were added requisitioning the animals necessary for the cultivation of the soil; the suppressing of all freedom of circulation, a permit being required even for going to the fields; the imposition of corvées on the population which took all its time and prevented cultivation; the refusal to distribute seeds; all this combined with a reign of terror, and the deporting and imprison-

ing of citizens by the thousands. The Bulgarian command furthermore remained indifferent to all warnings and to the cries of distress from its victims. A list of such complaints, made through official sources, is given on Page 12 of the Interallied Commission's report; these complaints extend from November, 1916, to April, 1917.

While the people were starving and dying by thousands; while the famishing population were eating dead dogs, cats, tortoises, and serpents, feeding themselves with wild herbs and whatever roots they could find, and dying of plague engendered by lack of nourishment, the Bulgarian Government replied to the complaints by two official acts, one embodied in a decree published in the daily paper, *Nea-Drama*, ordering all inhabitants to pay for provisions, bought from the Bulgarian Government in gold; the other in a report made by an engineer-agriculturist recommending "the organization of a company for the importation of agricultural machines with mechanical tractors."

Full evidence of the organized manner in which the Bulgarian authorities exploited the famine which it had deliberately produced is given by the Interallied Commission's report; the country by the order cited was drained of gold; copper, cotton, and wool were obtained for a handful of maize; several thousands of the starving population were lured to emigrate to Bulgaria by the offer of remunerative labor and abundant food; those deported after Greece declared war were forced to work from twelve to fifteen hours a day, underfed, beaten, and brutally treated. Cavalla was hit by the scourge more than any other part of the province. A French physician who saw the city immediately after its reoccupation gave the commission a distressing description of the frightful condition of the inhabitants.

RAPE

Regarding crimes against women the commission's report is detailed and explicit. In this connection it says:

According to the testimony of the inhabitants, few women above the age of

fourteen have escaped the beastiality of the occupying forces, and the number of violations is considerable. * * * But the victims of attacks of this sort, yielding to sentiments of modesty which are easily understood, and should be respected, refuse to relate their misfortune. As one of the witnesses said naively: "Shame shuts your mouth." Nevertheless, the number of testimonies received leaves no doubt of the existence and of the frequency of rape.

Many of these acts were committed by officers who found in their soldiers convenient guides and accomplices; the district commanders have almost all abused their position by forcibly seizing women or girls of their liking. Some of the violations were carried out with unbelievable brutality; at Podogoriani, Catherine Flouria, whom an officer accompanied by two soldiers attempted to rape, jumped from the window in terror and broke her leg in falling. Upon this, the two soldiers picked her up and took her back to the room, where the officer used her to gratify his bestial instincts, without worrying about her sufferings and her tears. At the same time, Thomais, her sister, 15 years old, was raped by the two soldiers in the next room with such brutality that she died the same evening. Two other sisters, still younger, were so much affected by the scene that they became ill and died a few days later. As to the father, he was killed some weeks later by a blow on the stomach with a bayonet, because he refused to tell where his daughter who, terror-stricken, had run away from the house was hiding. Such is the history of just this one family of Podogoriani under the Bulgarian domination.

At the same village, Stilliani Cisse, on the one hand and Marie Voudou on the other, were raped one after the other by four officers. A doctor raped Catherine Evangeliou in a chamber next to the one where her parents were dying as a result of the blows they had received. * * *

At Desna, the local commander, Lieutenant Kolieff of the 38th Regiment, promised to respect the girls after receiving 150 Turkish pounds. But a few days after he had taken the money from the priest, he kidnapped Marigo Christou, 17 years old, had her brought to the house of the priest and raped her in the house of the latter, while two soldiers were keeping guard at the door. Lieutenant Simoff raped Olga Heracli, whom his troops had seized upon his orders. In the same village, Polichroni Arkanidou was raped by a Sergeant, aided by a number of soldiers; her father, mother, and sister, who attempted to protect her from the assault, were beaten and died as a result.

At Cavalla, Ensign Angeloff, a brutal and cruel officer, raped girls frequently,

infecting them with his chronic venereal disease. * * * Again at Cavalla, an old woman 60 years of age and a grandmother, was raped at the same time as her two granddaughters.

At Serres, Evangelia Constantinou was raped successively by a Captain and a Lieutenant, while near her mother.

The soldiers introduced into such acts of rape the same bestialities that they committed in battle; the same victim often had to satisfy the lust of many ravishers co-operating with one another in order to put down all resistance. Thus, Mary Nicolas Smilaou from Nikisiani was in this way dragged out of the village with her mother and child and raped by their side by five soldiers.

Let us add by the way of conclusion that the Bulgarians took advantage of the famishing state of the unfortunate inhabitants who sold themselves for a piece of bread. This is not imagination but sad reality.

SEIZURE OF CHILDREN

A certain number of children were seized by the Bulgarian command under the pretext of philanthropy and sent to Bulgaria. The end in view was the denationalization of these children. Orphans or those whose people gave them up in order not to see them die of hunger were chosen.

The report distinguishes two periods in connection with deportations—the one preceding and the one following the declaration of war by Greece against Bulgaria in June, 1917. During the first period the number of those deported to Bulgaria was relatively small, consisting of persons of a definite class, teachers, priests and members of the professional classes, on the pretext of security. These deportees lived freely under police surveillance and were not badly treated. Others deported during the first period consisted of families from evacuated or destroyed villages, and of several thousand persons who accepted the invitation of the Bulgarian Government to migrate to Bulgaria to escape the famine. There they worked for the account of Bulgarians, and were not tortured.

But as soon as war was declared by Greece against Bulgaria the deportations took a different form. All officials and all men between the ages of 18 and 55 were sent to Bulgaria to be employed in the construction of public works. The

measure was applied to people of a much greater age and even to octogenarians. Details of the cruelty shown these deportees both during the period of transit and throughout their term of forced labor are too lengthy to be reproduced here. Overcrowding, starvation, exposure to the elements, theft of all money resources, crushing labor varying from twelve to fifteen hours a day, clothing reduced to tatters, unhygienic conditions, no soap, and verminous plagues, sickness unrelieved by medical assistance, hospitals only for the dying, brutality combined with cupidity, beatings leading to insanity and suicide at the first sign of weakness in working, poisoning of the sick, burning and burying of sick people still alive, are some of the charges which the report enumerates, referring to its second section for substantiation of each charge.

Many of the deportees perished from blows; exanthematic typhus and dysentery made serious gaps in their ranks; the severe cold, from which there was nothing to protect them, was responsible for the death of a great number; there were many cases of feet frozen, with amputation or death ensuing. The work they were required to perform was of many kinds; earth works, transport of materials, quarrying, felling of trees, bridge and road construction, &c. They worked in all kinds of weather under the harshest of conditions, in rain, snow, water and in marshes. Of 216 priests sent to Sevlievo, 13 died.

Upon the defeat of the Bulgarian armies and the conclusion of the armistice the deportees regained their freedom; they returned in a deplorable condition. One of the witnesses, Kenneth A. Thomas of the American Red Cross, saw 7,000 of these refugees pass by Tyrnovo, where the Red Cross had installed a hospital; he described the spectacle as follows:

They came in cattle-trucks, thirty-five to seventy per truck, in an inscribable condition of filth, covered with vermin. They had no bread beyond what was given them by the English canteens. By way of clothes they wore a sack in the place of coat and trousers. Each train brought four or five dead from cold or inanition. On many occasions the Bul-

garians left the poor people by the roadside between two stations without food. Their misery cannot be described; tuberculosis made ravages among the exiles owing to their privations; most of the exiles are exhausted and will never be able to perform much work.

Of 54,000 deported, 12,000 died in Bulgaria.

In conclusion the report of the Inter-allied Commission expresses itself in terms of stern condemnation of Bulgaria for the atrocities inflicted upon the people of Eastern Macedonia. It declares that Bulgaria had a fixed purpose, the destruction of the Greek Orthodox population of this province, thus paving the way for seizure of a country long coveted. Organized famine and deportation were the main weapons employed. The Bulgarian Government is also held responsible for all the brutal crimes of rapes,

beatings, and assassinations. It stopped at no action, however barbarous, to satisfy its desires, its cupidities, and its ambitions. Such a Government, the report declares, is dangerous not only for its immediate neighbors but also for the whole of civilized humanity.

The report of the commission bears the following signatures:

AIME CUYPERS, Consul Delegate of the Belgian Royal Government.

GEORGES DUTILH, Lawyer, Delegate of the French Government, General Secretary.

CAPTAIN REGINALD STROLOGO, 2d Garrison Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers, Delegate of the British Government.

EMANUEL TSIRIMONAKIS, President of the Serres Tribunal, Delegate of the Greek Government.

GIVOINE J. BABITCH, Cavalry Officer of the Serbo-Croat-Slovene Army, Delegate of the Serbian Government.

French War Dogs Under Fire

Even before the war there were military units for carrier pigeon service attached to the engineering corps of the French Army; but the "compagnie cynophile," the military kennel of the dogs of war, with its expert trainers and conductors, was a new branch belonging to the equipage train and controlled directly by the War Office.

In the last days of the war a writer in the Paris Temps interviewed a French General of high rank, who suggested that it would be both interesting and instructive to publish a group of terse reports of canine faithfulness, such as these which had come into his hands in the way of official routine:

Brutus, matriculation number B 2, 2474, between Jan. 22 and 28 gave warning of three enemy patrols; he was killed while on duty.

Renfort, B 906, in the night of Oct. 17-18, accompanying a patrol, made it possible by his vigilance to surprise an enemy patrol and to take prisoners.

Sultan, C 1263, in the night of Dec. 14-15 signaled the approach of an enemy patrol and prevented a surprise.

Picard, C 2, 500, in the night of Jan. 1-2 gave warning to a group of patrols guarding workmen.

Gablon, B 2, 1592, between March 7 and 15 four times gave the alarm against patrols and thus aroused our outposts.

Picard, B 1289, on March 28 particularly distinguished himself as a military messenger during a surprise attack of the enemy, accomplishing, under a fusillade and heavy barrage fire, four times without pause, a journey of 3,000 meters, (nearly two miles.)

Cora, D 58, in the night of Feb. 13-14 gave a signal to a French patrol that had lost its way and enabled it to return to our lines.

Cabot, B 1255, in the night of Jan. 23-24 gave warning of the approach, at a great distance, of a German messenger dog, which his conductor caused him to attack, hoping to capture it alive, but Cabot strangled his adversary.

Miss, B 3, 472, in the night of Jan. 7-8 several times gave the alarm in her service as watchdog. This was the night on which the Germans attempted a surprise attack on M., and it failed owing to the vigilance of the dog. We took prisoners, including an officer.

The General added:

"If the official reports of several Generals could be published they would show that our dogs of war have been fully equal to their task. Many, indeed, have died on the field of honor, and I assure you that tears have been shed for most of them, not only by their conductors, but by their human comrades in the battalion."

The Passing of the Turkish Dominion

Chaos and Suffering Increase in Asiatic Turkey —Conflict of British and French Claims

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 10, 1919]

THE virtual dismissal of the Turkish peace delegation from Paris, after the submission of its memorial, produced depression in Turkey. The attitude of the allied and associated powers had been expressed in plain and uncompromising language, which left no doubt of their belief in Turkish guilt, both in entering the war and in the matter of the Armenian atrocities, and indicated their absolute incredulity regarding Turkish promises. No formal reply to the Turkish proposals had been given, on the ground that these proposals and the Allies' plans were too far apart, and the dismissal was attributed to the fact that the solution of the problems involved would require too long a time to make the further sojourn of the Turkish delegation expedient or profitable.

The Supreme Council was formulating plans regarding the dismemberment of various parts of the Turkish Empire, including, tentatively, the following changes: The internationalization of Constantinople, the formation of an Arab kingdom, spheres of influence in Asia Minor, the extension of the Egyptian borders, a French protectorate in Syria, a guaranteed State of Palestine, the loss of all the Aegean islands, the elimination of Turkey in Europe, the constitution of an independent or protected Armenia, the loss of Mesopotamia, the reduction of armaments, probable reparation for the Armenians and the internationalization of the Dardanelles. Turkey had tried to ward off the coming doom, to wash her hands of responsibility for the war and for the massacres in Asia Minor which had startled and shocked the entire world; she had tried the men most prominent in the execution of these massacres and found them guilty; one of them had been hanged; the death sentence had been pronounced

against the three main criminals, Enver Pasha, Talaat Bey, and Djemel Pasha, who had fled to Germany; sixty-six others, all Turks of prominence, proved guilty of massacres and intrigues under the old régime had been turned over to the British and deported by them to Malta. But the bloody spots on Turkey's escutcheon could not be washed away, and the plans proceeded for confining her again to the Anatolian territory, in Asia Minor, whence 800 years ago she had started out upon her career of rapine and aggression.

TURKISH HOPES

The essential thing to Turkey was the retaining of her rule in Europe. But she also ardently desired to retain at least a vestige of control of her Asiatic provinces. Her Turkish representatives at Paris, headed by the brother-in-law of the Sultan, indicated the willingness of Turkey to grant local autonomy to Syria, Armenia, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. One of the pleas presented for such a solution was the necessity of checking the influence and activity of the Young Turks, who were thoroughly Prussianized, and were operating to undermine the influence of any Government opposed to their projects. But this hope was destroyed by the answer of the allied powers to the Turkish memorial.

Reports from Paris after the departure of the Ottoman delegation indicated that the nearest approach to such an arrangement would be a joint mandate over Constantinople and Anatolia, (the Turkey of the future,) and another over Armenia, each of these to have a separate autonomous Government, but a Governor General over all. According to the plan foreshadowed, a mandate over Syria would be given to France; Palestine would be erected into a Jewish re-

public, and Mesopotamia would be held by Great Britain.

The stumbling block in the first arrangement was Armenia, which has consistently demanded an independent Government, preferably under the control of the United States as mandatary. Distrusting the Turks as they did, the Armenians wished to break away completely from all semblance of union with the Turkish Government, and to eliminate all future danger of Turkish intrigue and aggression. The desire of Armenia, as expressed by prominent members of that nationality, was the linking of the new Armenian republic on the Black Sea, comprising more than 20,000 square miles of territory and a population of 1,000,000, with Turkish Armenia, thus connecting Armenian territory from the Black Sea down to the Mediterranean, and also including Cilicia and the littoral of Trebizonde. This union would include a population of 3,000,000 Armenians as against an alien population of 1,500,000, or 65 per cent. Armenian.

FAMINE CONDITIONS

As to the possibility that the United States might accept such a mandate, President Wilson stated in Paris that he would not advocate such a solution without first consulting the United States Senate; the difficulty involved in respect to the ratification of the League of Nations was obvious. Meanwhile a succession of reports of the complex condition of affairs in Asia Minor continued; famine conditions were serious, and the provisions for relief inadequate. While the women of Constantinople were blessing America for the bread received from the relief commission, hundreds and even thousands were dying in the interior of Turkey. Armenia particularly was suffering. The President of Roberts College stated that hundreds of people were dying in the streets. The stories of Armenian women just returning from captivity in Turkish harems were heartrending. Reports of horrible atrocities perpetrated by the Turks were confirmed by various survivors. All these stories, many of them from British official sources, pointed to the fixed in-

tention of the Turks to decimate and even to destroy the Armenians as a nation.

Dr. John H. Finley, State Commissioner of Education in New York and lately Red Cross Commissioner in Palestine, confirmed the desperate need of the Armenians and other sufferers under Turkish rule. Massacres of Armenians by the Turks, he said, had been officially reported as continuing. Other advices received from Asia Minor indicated that the Turks were holding up American relief supplies, and that the Turks, who still retained their arms and ammunition, were not complying with the terms of the Armistice.

In the armistice with Turkey Armenia was not occupied by allied troops, and no provision was made for evacuation of the troops led by the brutal officers of the Young Turk organization. William Allen White, in an article published toward the beginning of June, stated that massacres of the Armenians by the Young Turks had begun anew in February, and had continued ever since. Over a thousand victims had fallen. Names, dates, and statistics were at hand. The small Armenian Republic, which had but a weak and ill-equipped army, was entirely surrounded by a Turco-Tartar cordon of Governments determined to destroy the new and struggling nation. The Young Turks desired, first, to cut off Caucasian Armenia from so-called Turkish Armenia, and, second, to exterminate the whole race, the outpost of Christian civilization in the East.

ARMENIANS IN PERIL

Confirmation of this came on July 30. The Turks and Tartars were moving on the Armenians from three sides. They had cut off the American relief supplies, and threatened all the remaining Armenians with extermination. This information was contained in dispatches received by Herbert Hoover from Major Joseph C. Green, director of the American Relief Administration's work at Tiflis. Mr. Hoover immediately submitted Major Green's message to the Peace Conference, which had already received similar dispatches from other American and British observers. Major

Green's message, which bore the date July 23, read as follows:

Had a long conference with the Armenian President today. The situation is worse. The Turkish Army, well prepared, and Tartars are advancing from three sides. If military protection is not afforded to Armenia immediately the disaster will be more terrible than the massacres in 1915, and the Armenian Nation will be crushed, to the everlasting shame of the Allies.

Relief work is impossible in the present situation unless order is restored. Cannot something be done to have the British forces in the Caucasus intervene to save Armenia?

Under date of July 25 Major Green telegraphed:

The Turks and Tartars are advancing in the districts of Karabagh and Alagbez. They now occupy approximately the reopened territory of Russian Armenia. Khalil Bey, a Turkish Colonel, is commanding the Azerbaijan Tartars.

Relief depots and trains are surrounded and have probably been seized. The British state that orders from above prevent their interference. The Armenian people and Government are in despair. General mobilization was ordered yesterday, taking the men from the harvest.

We shall not be able to carry on relief work much longer unless the British receive orders to clear all Russian Armenia, including Karabagh and Alagbez, of Turkish and Tartar forces.

UNITED STATES INVOLVED

Other advices indicated that the activity of the Turkish troops was directed by Mustapha Kiamil Pasha, who calls himself "Dictator of National Defense," and that its immediate cause was delay by the Congress of the United States in deciding the question of accepting a mandate over Constantinople and Armenia. Fear of the power of America had kept the brutality of the Turkish troops in check, but the long delay in settlement of the question had unchained anew the age-long and inveterate hatred borne by the Turks to the Armenians.

Lieut. Gen. Milne, commander of the British troops at Saloniki, had been empowered by the Peace Conference, pending its ultimate decision, to control all allied troops in Western Asia Minor and to restore order in the Smyrna district. He was made responsible for the delimi-

tation of the Greek zone of military occupation. Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord, Chief of Staff of the American Expeditionary Forces, with a commission of American specialists in transportation and economic problems, was instructed to leave Paris about the middle of August for Armenia to make a study of conditions there.

CONFLICTING CLAIMS TO SYRIA

Meanwhile the settlement of the whole complex question was being seriously retarded by a conflict of British and French ambitions regarding the control of Syria. France had long claimed Syria, and now British troops were in charge there, while the French Foreign Office was vainly appealing to have them withdrawn and to have the territory placed in French hands.

France based her claims on the terms of the Sykes-Picot treaty of 1916, which was entered into between only France and England. In the previous year, however, there had been an agreement on the disposition of Asiatic Turkey made by England, France, and Russia. The British held that both were invalid. France regarded the earlier pact as invalid on account of the collapse of Russia, but held that nothing had occurred to annul the Sykes-Picot treaty.

By that treaty France was to have the immense territory bounded by a line starting at Lammass, on the coast, and running northeasterly to Sivas, thence through Kharput and Diarbekir and on the east to the Persian border, thence back southwesterly to a point on the Mediterranean coast to Syria, just north of Akka. The Syrian coast as far north as Aintab was to be under a direct French administration. The rest of the allotment was under French supervision.

England, by the terms of this Sykes-Picot treaty, was to have the whole of Mesopotamia, with Bagdad, plus the seaports of Akka and Haifa, just south of the French line where it reached the Syrian coast. The British recognition of the independence of the King of the Hedjaz wiped out practically the whole French claim under the treaty to the hinterland east of the Syrian coast.

FRENCH OFFICIAL'S VIEW

A member of the French Foreign Office stated the case for his country in these terms on Aug. 3:

The first violation of the Sykes-Picot treaty by the British was in their recognition of the independency of the Kingdom of the Hedjaz, which included much of the French zone. They even recognized as one of the Arabian capitals the City of Damascus, which is in our territory. We submitted because war and European conditions in general made us helpless to do otherwise.

During the war, when her troops were making conquest in Asia, England had some excuse, but the excuse does not hold now. * * * The British refuse to leave our zone. They even send such French troops as there are away from the regions we should control to such places as Adana and elsewhere in Cilicia, which region may come under the American mandate for Armenia.

The case of the town of Beirut, which is almost at the centre of the coastline allotted to France, furnishes a good example. The British control it. A French-

man may have had business in Beirut before the war. Now he is not allowed to go there, but an Englishman who had no business there before the war now has no difficulty in going there to establish an entirely new enterprise.

There was a time in European history when such conditions would surely have meant war, but, happily, there is no danger of that now, as bad as things are. We admit the Sykes-Picot treaty is badly riddled now. We are only trying to use that document as a basis of negotiation over what is left. We have lost much of what we want and are entitled to. Despite the British attitude, we still expect to get a Syrian coast strip from just north of Akka to Latakia.

Pending this conflict, which was being thrashed out in private sessions of the Peace Conference, various relief organizations in Asiatic Turkey asked the United States to request Premier Lloyd George to delay the removal of British troops from any part of the country until after Major Gen. Harbord's report had been received.

War Records Reveal Unfitness

The results of the inquiry into the British Nation's health as revealed by the records of the recruiting medical boards furnish some interesting figures given by The London Times. They include the following:

Out of every nine men examined—

Three were fit for service and were good lives;

Two were more or less unfit, but able to do something;

Four represented wreckage of one kind or another, some of it hopeless, most of it preventable.

The picture for the whole of the country, it was intimated, would be found to average approximately as follows:

Fit men, 36 per cent.;

Fairly good men, 23 per cent.;

Unsound men, 31 per cent.;

Totally incapacitated, 10 per cent.

The population of London, according to a semi-official tabulation, compared unfavorably with the rest of the country. Wales stood high in the scale of fitness; Scotland followed. The figures for the country as a whole showed about 64 per cent. to be in some degree unfit.



favor of the pro-Japanese officials in the Government.

The week of May 4-11, ever since 1915, has been regarded as a week of National Humiliation, because of the Twenty-one Demands that Japan forced upon China four years ago, the Japanese ultimatum being sent May 7 and China's answer being given on the following day. Meetings were held throughout the country, as in the previous three years; but there was a new determination, and on every side there was open talk of active measures against Japan if the allied powers did not support China's claims. The two most effective means of retaliation, it was decided, would be a boycott against Japanese goods and a campaign throughout the country, led by the students, against the pro-Japanese officials in the Chinese Government, in order to arouse the patriotism of the masses to the issues before them.

STRIKE OF THE STUDENTS

On May 26 the students in the various cities struck, refused to study, and gave themselves up to the work of propaganda. On this day 20,000 students in Shanghai met and paraded; they carried banners reading, "Down With the Traitors!" "Give China Justice," "Buy Native Goods." One student bit his arm until it bled, and with his own blood wrote the characters, "Give Us Back Our Tsing-tao." A complete organization of the students throughout the country was formed, with headquarters first in Peking and later in Shanghai. Their demands, as worded by one of their publications, were four in number:

1. First and foremost, if China is ever to rise out of her present shameful condition every one of her sons must be taught that treason to his country is man's greatest crime. Chinese officialdom has grown up under the old Mandarin system in which corruption was not only tolerated but expected. The officials were poorly paid and they were to earn enormous incomes by robbing the country. Under the Manchus this system could prevail; in a republic it has no place. The Peking officials have not only sold the wealth of the country, but they have betrayed her integrity. The worst enemies of China are not in Tokio, but in Peking. Not only to avenge the wrongs

that China has suffered must the traitors go, but to prevent the recurrence of treason, to inspire future generations, to get an example for the very boys and girls, the future fathers and mothers of China, who are now on strike, must they be driven out. The fate of the nation depends upon it, and with this principle there can be no compromise.

2. China demands that effective guarantees be secured from the allied Governments that Tsing-tao and the German rights in Shantung be returned to her immediately. Tsing-tao was stolen from China by Germany. When China entered the war it was understood that this territory would be returned to her. When Japan prevented China from joining the Allies and captured Tsing-tao, she promised she would return the territory to China. The Peace Congress has maintained the principle that territories forcefully seized and unjustly held shall be returned to the nation whose people inhabit them.

The foreigner will say, "But Japan intends to return this territory." China has suffered too long from Japan's intentions. China cannot accept a promise from Japan, for it is like a whisper in the wind. China has been betrayed too often by her island neighbor to accept her covenant. She is a nation whose word is bankrupt. One need only think of Korea, of Formosa, of Manchuria, of Mongolia, and of Siberia to realize the uselessness of a Japanese promise. Japan will never fully, truly, and completely return Tsing-tao, unless she is forced to do it by the nations of Western Europe. It is to avoid the bloodshed that might be entailed in this use of force that the students want effective guarantees made now that Japan will not be permitted to deceive China in this matter.

3. The students demand that the Twenty-one Demands shall be canceled. They were agreed to by China under duress. When the nations of the Western world were at war Japan sneaked in like a thief in the night and demanded that China give up her sovereign rights. An ultimatum of war was made. What could China have done at that time but agree to Japan's proposal made at the point of the bayonet? But these demands cannot be acceded to. China can never agree to the Twenty-one Demands. Until every one of them has been canceled, China will always be in a state of turmoil. For the peace of Asia, of the world, they must be expunged from history.

4. The students demand that freedom of speech and of the press shall be preserved as an inalienable right of citizens of the republic. To secure this right the students desire that the Constitution of China shall be completed and this right included.

BOYCOTTING JAPANESE GOODS

The boycott was taken up by the merchants and was rigidly enforced. The Japanese goods in their stores were taken out and burned; Japanese banknotes were refused; the great Chinese department stores in Shanghai pledged themselves not to order more Japanese goods. Chinese stevedores refused to work Japanese boats; the ricksha coolies refused to haul Japanese passengers. It became dangerous for even a foreigner to appear on the streets wearing a straw hat made in Japan.

Various protests were made by the Japanese Government against these movements, and on June 3 over a thousand students were arrested in Peking by the Chinese officials for their patriotic demonstrations and were placed in detention in the law courts of Peking University. I arrived in Peking the following day and had the opportunity of personally witnessing the scenes there. It was the ambition of every student to be arrested and thus show his patriotism. They were willing to go any limit to carry out that program. In Tientsin Chinese soldiers, with fixed bayonets, attempted to stop a parade of students. The students in the first line uncovered their chests and told the soldiers to use their bayonets if they wished; that they would be glad to die for their country. In each case the soldiers, who were acting half-heartedly in obedience to orders from higher up, gave way to the students.

As soon as the news of the arrest of the students reached Shanghai the merchants closed their doors in a sympathetic strike; signs were placed on the stores, reading "We will not open our doors until the traitors are removed." This action was duplicated in the other cities of China. (The three "pro-Japanese traitors" were Chang Chung-hsiang, the former Minister to Japan, Tsao Ju-lin, the Minister of Communications, and Lu Chung-yu.)

On June 5 the Government ordered the students released; but they would not come out until the Government apologized and promised to meet some of their demands. The President sent rep-

resentatives on the 7th with official apologies. On June 8 I watched the students march out from their place of detention. Each school or college carried the national flag in addition to its own flag, and they were all given a rousing reception by the thousands of spectators who had gathered to see them come out. It was a happy hour for the students, and yet the scene was not without pathos as one saw the spirit reflected in the faces of these young men and boys who realized the dangers that were besetting their country and were striving—ineffectually, perhaps, and yet with all their power—to avert the fate that an imperialistic neighbor, assisted by a few unscrupulous politicians of their own land, was attempting to bring upon China.

VICTORY FOR STUDENTS

The students had won the first round in their fight; the merchants won the second. I left Peking June 9; when I reached Nanking I found that the train men had joined the strike of the merchants and that there were no trains running to Shanghai. With luck I caught a Yangtse River steamer, and arrived in Shanghai June 11.

The demands of the merchants and other workers included the dismissal of the pro-Japanese officials already named. New classes of workers kept joining the strike. The telephone operators walked out, and even the thieves were reported to have stopped their trade to show their patriotism and join in the strike. The situation in Shanghai was acute, as thousands of unemployed workers were swarming the city; the markets were closed, and the slightest provocation would have swung the crowd into a massacre of Japanese or even into an attack upon all foreigners. British, French, and Japanese gunboats were ordered to stand in readiness, one of the British boats being moored to the customs pier, ready to send its men ashore at instant notice. But on June 12 official announcement was made that the three pro-Japanese officials had been dismissed; the stores reopened with a flourish, and the situation became more normal.



PATRIOTIC CROWD IN PEKING GREETES THE STUDENTS AS THEY EMERGE FROM CONFINEMENT AFTER THE GOVERNMENT'S APOLOGY

(Photo by W. R. Wheeler)

STRONG PUBLIC SENTIMENT

Public opinion in China is absolutely against the transfer of Tsing-tao and German rights in Shantung to Japan. The boycott against Japanese goods is being continued as a protest and there is some danger of the whole interest taking an anti-foreign turn, as the Chinese come to realize that England, France, and Italy all signed secret agreements with Japan in 1917, agreeing to support its claims for these holdings in Shantung. These agreements were not known by either America or China until disclosed at the Peace Conference.

Americans and British who live in China have, like the Chinese, forwarded telegraphic protests against the proposed settlement of Chinese territory. On May 21 the American Chamber of Commerce in China sent the following cable to the President, which was acknowledged by him through the American Minister at Peking:

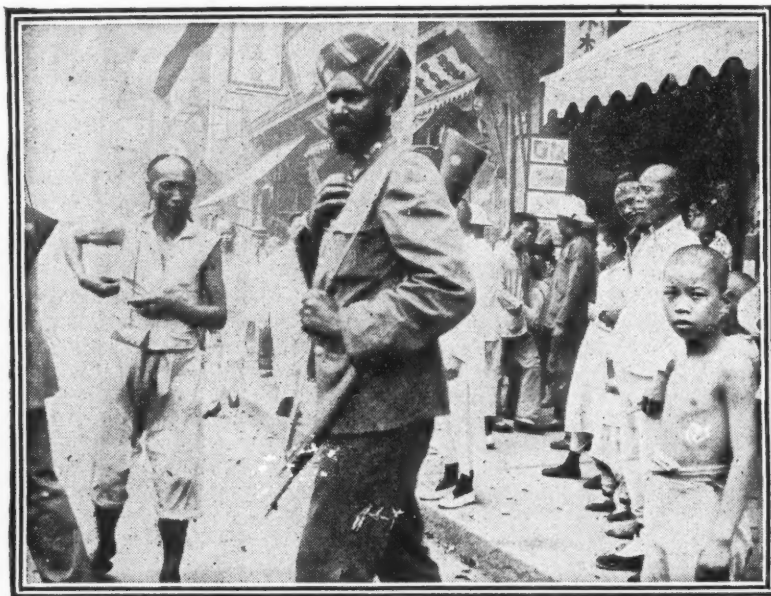
Americans in China view with gravest concern the decision of the Peace Conference to give over to Japan Germany's rights and interests in Shantung, irrespective of pledges which Japan will make

to return these to China, unless those pledges are accompanied with guarantees which make them thoroughly effective within a reasonable time; otherwise all pledges regarding the maintenance of the open door of equal opportunity will become as mere scraps of paper, and China will be endangered with a militarism controlled by Japan which may involve the world in another great catastrophe.

Approximately the same cablegram was sent by the American Association of China, the American Woman's Club of China, and the American University Club of China. On June 6 the Anglo-American Association of Peking sent a similar message, which, representing as it did many leading figures in the American and British world in China, carried additional weight. To foreigners who live in the Far East the situation seems very clear, and there is hope that through the League of Nations a settlement will be devised with greater justice to China and with better prospects of maintaining the peace of the Far East.

FOUR IMPORTANT FACTORS

To understand the intensity of Chinese feeling on this matter, four factors must



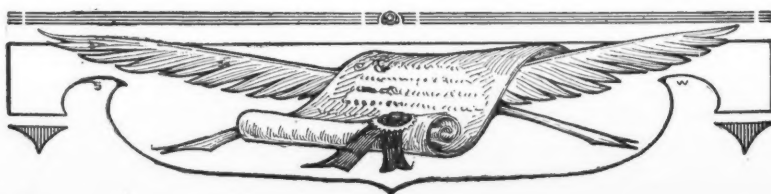
SIKH POLICEMAN HELPING TO PREVENT AN ANTI-FOREIGN OUTBREAK
IN THE INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT IN TOKIO

(Photo by W. R. Wheeler)

be kept in mind: First, no part of China is so loved as is Shantung. It is the birthplace of Confucius and Mencius, the great sages of China, and occupies a strategic place in Central China. Second, no country is so feared by China as is Japan. The Chinese see before them the fate of Korea, toward which Japanese establishment in Shantung is a most significant step. Third, the Chinese had looked to President Wilson and to America to secure a settlement at Paris that would be in accordance with the principles of the rights of weak nations and of international justice and democracy. Their hopes were high and the corresponding revulsion of feeling was all the greater when their hopes were not

realized. Fourth, in 1915, China, under threat of an ultimatum from Japan, signed agreements to the Twenty-one Demands, hoping that she could be released at the Peace Conference from these agreements, as Russia was released from the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. She fears that her signature to the Peace Treaty, including the transfer of German rights to Japan in Shantung, will settle that whole question, and she absolutely refuses thus to transfer rights in her most sacred province from one foreign militaristic power to another.

Competent observers insist that, unless justice is done in China, the seeds are being sown in the Far East for another world war.



The Shantung Controversy

Charges and Countercharges With Echoes in the United States Senate—Two Official Pronouncements

THE action of the Peace Conference in giving Japan certain territorial and other concessions in Shantung Province had as its first result the refusal of the Chinese peace delegation to sign the treaty. Up to the last moment the members of the delegation hoped that it would be allowed either to make reservations on signing or to sign under protest, but both of these alternatives were denied by the council, and the entire Chinese delegation thereupon absented itself from the ceremonial of signing.

In a memorial presented to the Peace Conference China had demanded the return of Kiao-Chau and other German holdings as a matter of right. Seven main reasons adduced may be summarized as follows:

1. The leased territory of Kiao-Chau, including the bay and islands therein, is and always has been an integral part of Chinese territory; the lease to Germany was granted only under coercion, while the railway and mining rights possessed by Germany before the war were part of the same grant. Restoration of this territory and of these rights to China would be a mere act of justice.

2. The test of nationality shows that Shantung Province, of which Kiao-Chau is a part, and in which the German-built railway, now held by the Japanese, stretches from Tsing-tao 254 miles into the interior, contains a population of 38,000,000 patriotic inhabitants who are part and parcel of the homogeneous Chinese race, alike in language and religion, and whose earnest desire to free their province from foreign domination is beyond dispute.

3. Shantung is the birthplace of Confucius and Mencius and the cradle of Chinese civilization, the Chinese Holy Land and Mecca, on which the eyes of the whole Chinese people are focused, and which has always played and still plays an important part in China's development.

4. The dense population of Shantung, whose 38,347,000 inhabitants are limited to the resources of agriculture in an area of barely 35,347,000 square miles, or a population almost equal to that of France in a territory only one-quarter as large,

shows that there can be no room for the inflow of the surplus population of Japan without unjustifiable exploitation of the Chinese inhabitants.

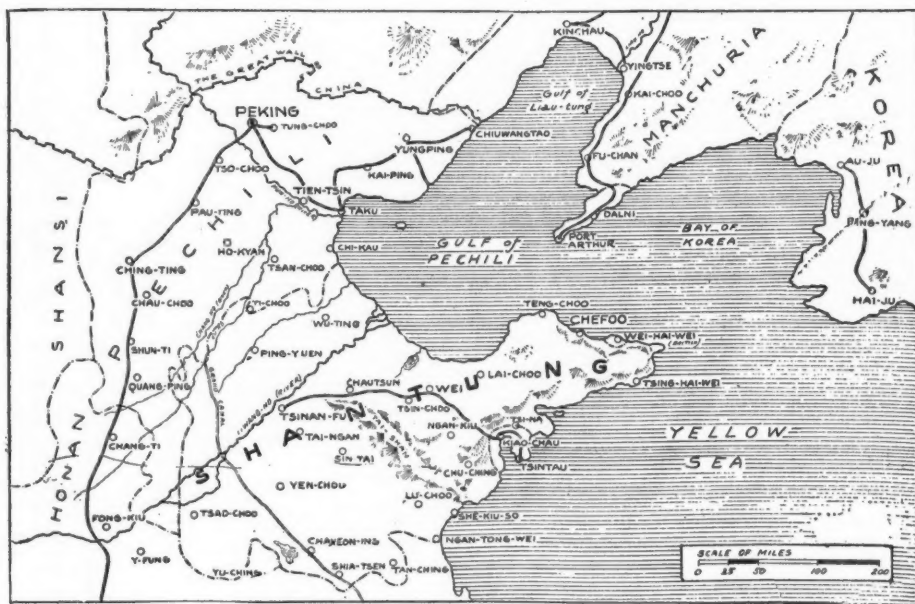
5. Shantung Province possesses all the elements for the economic domination of North China, a growing market for foreign merchandise, rich mineral resources and abundance of raw materials; the Bay of Kiao-Chau has been the principal port of Shantung for many centuries; it is destined to be the chief outlet for North China products and the main port entrance for foreign goods for the same regions. The port of Tsing-tao, the new emporium since the influx of torrents emptying into the Bay of Kiao-Chau filled up the northern part, occupies a position on the coast corresponding to that held by Kiao-Chau. Reinforced by new trade arteries, including the Tsing-tao-Kiao-Chau-Tsinan railway, the port of Tsing-tao is in a position to tap the trade of the whole of North China. The building up of a foreign sphere of influence here, therefore, is dangerous to international trade and industry; and no country is in a better position to uphold the principle of the open door in Shantung than China herself.

6. Strategically the Bay of Kiao-Chau commands one of the gateways of North China. By the existence of the Tsing-tao-Tsinan Railway, connected at Tsinan with the railway of Tientsin and Peking, it controls one of the quickest approaches from the sea to the capital of the Chinese republic. In the interest of her national defense and security, China must retain these strategically vital points in her own hands.

7. By restoring the leased territory of Kiao-Chau to China the Peace Conference would be redressing a wrong committed by Germany, and would also serve the common interests of all nations in the Far East; it would eliminate future conflict between a resentful people and the future rulers; it would insure the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire, and the principles of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.

CHARGES OF INTRIGUE

The arguments of this memorandum were not accepted by the Peace Conference, and the news that Japan had won the concessions which she desired created



MAP OF SHANTUNG PENINSULA, WITH KIAO-CHAU AND OTHER CHINESE REGIONS HELD BY JAPAN

intense excitement in China, where serious disorders developed into a clearly defined movement of protest, led by students and merchants. A series of charges and countercharges between China and Japan began, and continued throughout July, the Chinese charging that Japan would never return the territory or concessions now obtained, and Japan insisting that she would keep her promise to return these as soon as the formal renouncement of the German rights had been ratified.

H. K. Kung and T. H. Tsu, representatives of the people of Shantung Province, issued a statement on July 19 charging the Japanese peace delegates with having attained their ends at Paris by mendacious intrigue. This statement said in part:

Japan, of course, did not like the reservation, (which the Chinese delegation desired to make on signing.) The Big Three were at first indifferent about it. Then Japan used her intrigue to influence the Big Three against China's requests. Her intrigue was to inform the council falsely that she had learned that our delegates had received instructions from the Peking Government to sign the treaty, whether they were allowed to make reservations or not.

STATEMENT OF MR. WU

On July 17, at the Lawyers' Club of New York, C. C. Wu, representative at the Peace Conference of the South-western and Northern Provisional Governments of China and son of Dr. Wu Ting-fang, former Chinese Minister to Washington, reviewed the history of the whole Shantung controversy. In an address he said:

With the outbreak of the great war in 1914 the Chinese Republican Government offered to join the Allies. Her practical contribution was to be an expedition to capture the German stronghold at Kiaochow. The offer was refused, for various diplomatic reasons about which we know very little. Japan, as you are aware, sent Germany an ultimatum, and war followed because there was no response within the time specified. Japan launched her expeditionary force across the Shantung Peninsula, having landed it 150 miles from Kiaochow, creating a great disturbance as they went and seizing supplies en route, occupying the territory in general as though it were enemy country. In contrast, the British landed within the leased territory without any violation of Chinese neutrality.

In 1915 Japan presented her notorious twenty-one demands. Group I, comprising four considerations, dealt with Shantung. One only is important—the demand

THE SHANTUNG CONTROVERSY

that China should agree to whatever arrangement Japan and Germany came to regarding German rights in Shantung. The Chinese Government, compelled by the threat of war, consented to this. The treaty and various notes of 1915 were the result. In return for the Chinese promise and certain railroad rights Japan pledged herself to return Kiao-Chau under certain conditions, which need not be noted, except that Japan would keep an exclusive concession at a place which she would designate.

At the beginning of 1919, Mr. Wu continued, a commission was sent to Paris to ask that the German rights in Shantung be given to China, for reasons both moral and legal. He commented that China was the first of the neutral powers to respond to the United States note asking neutrals to show "worldwide disapproval of the German actions" and that China was the first of the neutrals to follow the United States and break relations with Germany, finally declaring war upon that power.

Mr. Wu added that the report that Japan did not want more than 200 square miles of Shantung territory "sounded well," but called attention to the alleged fact that in the Far East "political rights follow economic privileges." This, he said, was illustrated by the 1897-98 fight by the great powers for railway and economic privileges and by the Japanese domination of South Manchuria.

In conclusion Mr. Wu said that Japan got from the Paris settlement a concession which amounts to a lease of Tsingtao and the railroad from Tsingtao to Tsinan-fu, and that Japan had more than Germany, because there were three or more concessions she had secured.

PROTEST TO BE CONTINUED

In an interview granted by Mr. Wu on the same date he said, in part:

With respect to Shantung our advice to the Government and the people of China will be to maintain their attitude of protest against the decision of the Peace Conference, which refused to give back Shantung to China. Not only did the decision go against us, but when the delegates wanted to sign under reservations they refused to permit even that. As for the twenty-one demands, we shall advise that they be taken up with the League of Nations, and we shall suggest that China

continue before the League of Nations the work begun at Paris. Japan and China are neighbors, and are placed there by nature. We cannot move away as you move a house. But we do want to be free of aggression on the part of any and every body, whether our neighbors or not.

Japan has had some rather imperialistic Governments. I say this not on my own authority, but I am quoting what the Japanese themselves admit. Under these imperialistic Governments China has been the principal one to suffer. If what Japan has done in the past is any gauge of what it is going to do in the future, there is plenty of ground for the apprehension of the Chinese people. We only hope that those in power in Japan will bring about a radical change of policy from that of their previous Governments. We are not against the Japanese people. We are simply against the Japanese policy as it has hitherto been shown in dealings with China. China asked the impartial tribunal of the world assembled at Paris to declare null and void the treaties made between Japan and China following the submission of the twenty-one demands of Japan. The Peace Conference having failed to do this, China will remain firm and consistent in her policy on the treaties and the disposition of Shantung.

Regarding China's demand that the Sino-Japanese treaties of 1915 be nullified, Mr. Wu said their recognition was a sanction of imperialism, and would be sure to result in further conflicts which would again set the world on fire. How, he asked, could there be permanent peace when 400,000,000 inhabitants of China were arrayed against injustice?

Similarly predicting the outbreak of another war on analogous grounds, Dr. Chien Hsu, Minister of Justice of the Constitutional Government of Canton, and formerly one of the peace delegates, speaking in New York on July 26, denounced Japan as the new Germany of the East, and appealed to the United States for assistance in China's fight against Japanese aggression.

The Chinese Parliament on Aug. 8 passed a resolution authorizing the President of that republic to issue a mandate declaring that a state of war had ceased to exist between China and Germany. Publication of the mandate was delayed, however, pending discussion of the terms with German representatives. The result would amount to making a separate peace.

SHANGHAI EDITOR'S STATEMENT

Thomas F. Millard, editor of *The Far Eastern Review* of Shanghai, published an exhaustive discussion of the whole question, wherein Japan's dealings with China were exhibited in the light of continuous blackmail. Mr. Millard was active in Paris on behalf of China until after the signing of the Peace Treaty. He arrived in Washington shortly prior to July 24. In an interview given on that date he asserted that the peace terms, by granting a permanent Japanese settlement at Tsing-tao and Japanese possession and policing of the Tsing-tao Railway over its entire length, penetrating to the centre of Shantung, gave Japan complete economic and political control of the province. He also asserted, on the authority of certain American experts at the Peace Conference, that China's defensive security was seriously affected, as well as the general strategic position of the United States vis-a-vis the Asiatic question. In view of the fact, furthermore, that China had entered the war principally because of the advice and urging of the United States, President Wilson's responsibility for the Shantung settlement under a presumed compulsion amounted to a tergiversation which seriously impugned the diplomatic honor of the United States.

DISCUSSION IN THE SENATE

In the United States Senate the deal with Japan was assailed on July 15 by Senator Borah and other Republican Senators, who demanded that this portion of the treaty be rejected. Democratic Senators upheld the treaty, declaring that the powers had to yield to Japan in the Shantung matter in order to conclude peace. Senator Lodge retorted that the treaty had "paid Japan's price." In answer to a warning made by Senator Williams that the Republicans, by constantly stirring up the Shantung settlement and questioning the integrity of Japan, might bring about a misunderstanding with the Mikado's Government, Senator Borah declared that if Japan wanted to challenge the United States for declining to uphold "a bargain that meant the slavery of 400,000,000 Chinese"

he was willing to let the challenge come. All China's claims regarding Shantung and regarding the treaties of 1915, based on the famous twenty-one demands, were laid before the United States Senate by Senator Spencer of Missouri on July 25. These claims, embodied in a White Book, were presented to the Peace Conference in April, 1919. China's charges of imperialistic aims and coercion on the part of Japan were thus read into the record and became public in the United States. With the demand for abrogation of the 1915 treaties was included a history of the twenty-one demands, which, the document declared, proved that Japan's dominant aim in the war was the strengthening of her position in Eastern Asia by all means within her power.

Senator Borah, one of the chief opponents of the treaty, acting on a rumor that certain members of the American peace delegation at Paris had made a formal protest on the Shantung settlement, called for a copy of this document. Though this was not forthcoming, it was stated on July 21 that three American Commissioners, Mr. Lansing, Mr. White, and General Bliss, had laid their joint views on the subject before President Wilson in the form of a letter written by General Bliss. Information obtained from Paris indicated, however, that they had done this at the President's request. He had expressed his own disfavor of Japan's claims in China, both before and after the revelation of the secret treaties between Japan and the European powers, but had agreed to the concessions in order to keep Japan in the Peace Conference and insure Japanese membership in the League of Nations. The Chinese, in this connection, charged that Baron Makino had deliberately played up the racial equality issue in order to strengthen Japan's demand for the Shantung concessions, with an implication that Japan would abandon the conference if this demand were also refused.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S LETTER

The Senate resolutions asking President Wilson for various documents, including General Bliss's memorandum on Shantung, were responded to by the

President on Aug. 8 in a letter in which he said:

In reply to this request, let me say that General Bliss did write me a letter in which he took very strong grounds against the proposed Shantung settlement, and that his objections were concurred in by the Secretary of State and Henry White. But the letter cannot properly be described as a protest against the final Shantung decision, because it was written before that decision had been arrived at and in response to my request that my colleagues on the commission apprise me of their judgment in the matter. The final decision was very materially qualified by the policy which Japan undertook to pursue with regard to the return of the Shantung Peninsula in full sovereignty to China.

I would have no hesitation in sending the Senate a copy of General Bliss's letter were it not for the fact that it contains references to other Governments, which it was perfectly proper for General Bliss to make in a confidential communication to me, but which I am sure General Bliss would not wish to have repeated outside our personal and intimate exchange of views.

I have received no written protest from any officials connected with or attached to the American Peace Commission with regard to this matter.

Secretary Lansing, in answering questions before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Aug. 11, stated that Japan's secret treaties with Great Britain, France, and Italy regarding the disposition of captured German territory in China and the Pacific Ocean were unknown to President Wilson and himself at the time of the Lansing-Ishii agreement, in which the United States recognized that Japan had special interests in China. The diplomatic representatives of all the powers concerned had concealed the existence of the treaties. Mr. Lansing said that his first knowledge of these secret agreements came early in February, 1919, when they were transmitted to the State Department by the American Peace Commission in Paris.

JAPANESE REPLY

Before all the mass of protest on the part of China and her defenders the Japanese did not remain silent. Japanese delegates to the Peace Conference, returning to Japan via the United States, defended the Shantung settlement. Kat-suji Debuchi, Chargé d'Affaires of the

Japanese Embassy in Washington, conferred toward the end of July with Breckenridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State, on this question, and presented the difficulties, from Japan's standpoint, of making a declaration about the return to China of Shantung before Germany turned over to Japan the title to the former German rights in the province. The time limit for this transference was three months.

On Aug. 1, Dr. Toyokichi Iyenaga, lecturer at Columbia University at the outbreak of the war and now Director of the East and West Bureau in New York City, disclaimed Japan's intention to seize Shantung Province permanently. Japan had given her pledge to return Kiao-Chau and was ready to renew it, but no definite steps, he declared, could be taken until China signed the treaty. The secret treaties were explained by him on the ground that Japan had lost the fruits of her victory in the costly war with China through the machinations of certain European powers; to prevent a repetition of such loss in the future she had negotiated the agreements referred to to support her claims at the peace table. The excitement over Shantung, he declared, was unjustified. Kiao-Chau had an area of only 200 square miles, and its possession infringed in no way on Chinese sovereignty over Shantung Province. As to the Tsing-tao-Tsinanfu railway, it would be run under the joint management of Japan and China, and the road would be guarded by China's police. Japanese troops in Shantung Province would be withdrawn. A Japanese settlement and an international settlement like that of Shanghai would be established in Tsing-tao. He added:

The one and sole weakness in the Shantung decision, I will admit, is the appearance, though unavoidable, that the Allies have given the award to Japan at the expense of a friendly nation, and that Japan becomes heir to the German leasehold and rights extorted from China on the barest of pretenses.

The Japanese peace delegates in Paris showed willingness on July 31 to discuss the Shantung settlement. China, they declared, would be satisfied after the ratification of the Peace Treaty by

three great powers. They also declared that the desired statement of Japan's intention would be forthcoming. The agitation in the United States Senate was due, they declared, to groundless suspicion. Though no time limit was prescribed for the return of Kiao-Chau, Japan intended to begin negotiations for such return as soon as the treaty was ratified.

JAPAN'S OFFICIAL STATEMENT

On Aug. 4 it was announced from Tokio that Japan had issued the long-awaited statement of her intentions. It was not communicated to foreign Governments, but was published in the Japanese press. The statement was issued by Viscount Uchida, the Japanese Foreign Minister, who formally declared that Japan did not intend to claim any rights affecting the territorial sovereignty of China in Shantung Province. The official text, made public to the press in Tokio on Sunday, Aug. 3, and given out by the Japanese Embassy in Washington on Aug. 6, is as follows:

It appears that, in spite of the official statement which the Japanese Delegation at Paris issued on May 5 last, and which I fully affirmed in an interview with the representatives of the press on May 17, Japan's policy respecting the Shantung question is little understood or appreciated abroad.

It will be remembered that in the ultimatum which the Japanese Government addressed to the German Government on Aug. 15, 1914, they demanded of Germany to deliver, on a date not later than Sept. 15, 1914, to the imperial authorities, without condition or compensation, the entire leased territory of Kiao-Chau with a view to eventual restoration of the same to China. The terms of that demand have never elicited any protest on the part of China or any other allied or associated powers.

Following the same line of policy, Japan now claims as one of the essential conditions of peace that the leased territory of Kiao-Chau should be surrendered to her without condition or compensation. At the same time, abiding faithfully by the pledge which she gave to China in 1915, she is quite willing to restore to China the whole territory in question and to enter upon negotiations with the Government at Peking as to the arrangements necessary to give effect to that pledge as soon as possible after the Treaty of Versailles shall have been ratified by Japan.

Nor has she any intention to retain or

to claim any rights which affect the territorial sovereignty of China in the Province of Shantung. The significance of the clause appearing in Baron Makino's statement of May 5, that the policy of Japan is to hand back the Shantung Peninsula in full sovereignty to China, retaining only the economic privileges granted to Germany, must be clear to all.

Upon arrangement being arrived at between Japan and China for the restitution of Kiao-Chau, the Japanese troops at present guarding that territory and the Kiao-Chau-Tsinanfu Railway will be completely withdrawn.

The Kiao-Chau-Tsinanfu Railway is intended, to be operated as a joint Sino-Japanese enterprise without any discrimination in treatment against the people of any nation.

The Japanese Government has, moreover, under contemplation proposals for the re-establishment in Tsing-tao of a general foreign settlement, instead of the exclusive Japanese settlement which by the agreement of 1915 with China they are entitled to claim.

The announcement that Japan contemplated the establishment of a general foreign settlement at Tsing-tao in place of the exclusive Japanese settlement came as a surprise and was regarded as revealing a new policy of the Japanese Government.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S STATEMENT

Immediately upon the publication in Washington of the Uchida statement, President Wilson issued an official pronouncement which explicitly refused to recognize the agreement of 1915. It was as follows:

The Government of the United States has noted with the greatest interest the frank statement made by Viscount Uchida with regard to Japan's future policy respecting Shantung. The statement ought to serve to remove many misunderstandings which had begun to accumulate about this question.

But there are references in the statement to an agreement entered into between Japan and China in 1915 which might be misleading if not commented upon in the light of what occurred in Paris when the clauses of the treaty affecting Shantung were under discussion. I therefore take the liberty of supplementing Viscount Uchida's statement with the following:

In the conference of the 30th of April last, where this matter was brought to a conclusion among the heads of the principal allied and associated powers, the Japanese delegates, Baron Makino and

Viscount Chinda, in reply to a question put by myself, declared that:

"The policy of Japan is to hand back the Shantung Peninsula in full sovereignty to China, retaining only the economic privileges granted to Germany and the right to establish a settlement under the usual conditions at Tsing-tao.

"The owners of the railway will use special police only to insure security for traffic. They will be used for no other purpose.

"The police force will be composed of Chinese, and such Japanese instructors as the Directors of the railway may select will be appointed by the Chinese Government."

No reference was made to this policy being in any way dependent upon the execution of the agreement of 1915 to which Viscount Uchida appears to have referred. Indeed, I felt it my duty to

say that nothing that I agreed to must be construed as an acquiescence on the part of the Government of the United States in the policy of the notes exchanged between China and Japan in 1915 and 1918, and reference was made in the discussion to the enforcement of the agreement of 1915 and 1918 only in case China failed to co-operate fully in carrying out the policy outlined in the statement of Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda.

I have, of course, no doubt that Viscount Uchida had been apprised of all the particulars of the discussion in Paris, and I am not making this statement with the idea of correcting his, but only to throw a fuller light of clarification upon a situation which ought to be relieved of every shadow of obscurity or misapprehension.

WOODROW WILSON.

The Passing of Anti-British Prejudice

By OWEN WISTER

In an article on "Our Fourth of July," contributed to the American number of The London Times, July 4, 1919, Owen Wister, the American novelist, said:

To fathers and grandfathers all over our States the names Concord, Bunker Hill, and Valley Forge mean resistance to the tyrannical enemy of liberty, England. England is still that to our schoolboys of today, though not to so many. A movement to correct the school books has been started and will go on. It will be thwarted in every way possible by certain of your enemies. These will busily remind you that you burned our capital in the next war we had; that you let loose the Alabama upon us during our civil war; they will never mention the good turns you have done us. They would spoil, if they could, the better understanding that so many of us are striving for. They would pry us apart, if they could. They will fail. Our dead over whom you strewed flowers on May 30 will help us living to defeat them.

Could I name all the matters wherein we have varied much or little from you since that original Fourth of July, 143 years ago, a teeming page would be compiled. In truth, a whole book devoted to these differences, with the history of such divergence, would have that same light-throwing quality which is pos-

sessed by any great dictionary giving the evolution and successive uses of words. * * *

This whole mass of divergence is as dross, weighed against the golden nugget of similarity; our indential attitude toward life. We alone have it in common. Nobody else on this planet shares it with us. Our Constitution was the achievement of minds sprung as directly from the British constructive genius as Minerva from the brain of Jove—and far more veraciously. Without your common law our law had not existed. Upon your rotion of the home our social fabric rests. Climate—or something—has made many of us more volatile, more loquacious than you; but when there is something doing we can focus to a silence remarkably like yours. We, too, have a pagan stoicism, and Christianity has bred in us the same sense of pity for the weak and sick, understood by none others of mankind. Above all else—to be the captains of our souls. This uttermost thing we got from you. This war, especially the great year 1918, has added considerably to the number of British who say, "Yankees are not half bad when you know them"; and to the number of Yanks who say, "I've met a whole lot of British who hate the same things I do." May their tribe increase!

Korea's Revolt Against Japanese Rule

A Brief Account of the Events and Causes Leading Up to the Korean Independence Movement

When the Chinese delegates at Paris refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles, owing to the Shantung clauses, they cited Japan's methods in Korea as one of the grounds of their action. Korea, though under Japanese rule, had attempted to send delegates to the Peace Conference and had transmitted a declaration of independence to President Wilson. Since then the passive revolt of the Koreans has continued, and has been combated with repressive measures which all disinterested witnesses have characterized as needlessly harsh. The following article, based on material sent to CURRENT HISTORY by an English-speaking resident of Korea, throws light both on the historical causes and on the current aspects of the independence movement. Because of the strictness of the Japanese censorship the documents were brought to the United States by a person leaving Korea; for obvious reasons the names of the persons involved are omitted.

THE Korean independence movement is the culmination of a series of closely linked events dating from the annexation of Korea or "Chosen" by Japan in 1905. But the seed of Korea's distrust of Japan was planted centuries earlier. More than 300 years ago the Japanese invaded Korea from their island fortress, and many times they were driven back across the straits. One of these old invasions is commemorated in a street of Kyoto, the old capital of Japan, by the "Ear and Nose Monument," beneath which are buried the severed ears and noses of several thousand Koreans as a grim evidence of early Japanese methods of waging war upon their historic enemies.

In modern times the beginning of Japanese ascendancy in Korea may be traced to the China-Japan war of 1894. As an outcome of that war Japan acknowledged the independence of Korea, as did the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. Japan and the countries named signed treaties guaranteeing this independence. But Russian attempts to push southward led Japan to make an alliance with Korea, and the financial aid, physical labor, and transportation facilities of Korea helped Japan to win that war. After this triumph, however, Japan revealed her intention to make Korea a part of the Japanese Empire. As the independence

of Korea had been formally recognized, she sought the official consent of the Korean Government itself to the plan of annexation.

The murder of the Korean Queen in 1895 is ascribed directly to this project, as the anti-Japanese influence of the Queen was an obstacle in its path. Japanese assassins, said to be acting under instructions from the accredited representatives of Japan at the Korean Court, penetrated within the palace precinct, killed the Queen, and set the palace on fire. Meanwhile a group of the murderers went to the King, brandishing their weapons and uttering threats; the King himself, however, was not injured. The Minister of the Household Department, who had been wounded, fled to the presence of the King, and was stabbed before the King's eyes. On the following morning, while still fearing for his life, the Korean ruler was forced to sign documents that gave over all power into the hands of men who were under Japanese domination. Virtually a prisoner in the hands of the Japanese, he finally made his escape and took refuge within the walls of the Russian Legation; here he called together his friends, reorganized his Government, and punished his enemies. This act of the King embittered the Japanese against Russia, opened the door for Russian intrigue, and hastened the Russo-Japanese war.]

A Japanese Court of Inquiry found that the assassins could not be proved to have actually committed the crime, and therefore discharged all those accused. In view of the fact that one of these was the Minister of Japan, acting with his secretary, it was clear that conviction would have meant the throwing of the onus of the crime upon the Japanese Government itself.

In the early part of 1905 the Korean Emperor, as he was then called, was again approached with the suggestion of annexation to Japan, but repelled it, and, foreseeing the trend of events, sent



—From the Jiji, Tokio
THIS CARTOON BY A JAPANESE, CRITICISING HIS OWN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY IN KOREA, BEARS THE LEGEND "YOU CAN'T MAKE A MODEL NURSE MAID OF A SABRE MERCHANT. THE SABRE IS LABELED, "GOVERNOR GENERAL OF KOREA"

a personal and private letter of protest to the President of the United States. Meanwhile Japan sent Marquis Ito to Korea to induce the Emperor and his Government to consent to annexation. Many conferences took place between the Japanese representatives and the Korean Cabinet, but the Koreans stood firmly on the Treaty of 1894.

KOREAN CABINET COERCED

One day, after a long conference at the Japanese Legation, the meeting adjourned to the audience chamber of the Emperor. Repeated exhortations and inducements were offered, but the Koreans were immovable. Thereupon the Japanese had the building surrounded by Japanese gendarmes. The Emperor, fearing violence, withdrew to an anteroom. The Prime Minister was isolated and detained by Japanese armed officials in another small room. The other members of the Cabinet then gave way and the treaty of annexation was signed by a majority, including the Foreign Minister, and the official seal affixed, the only concession obtained by the Koreans being an inserted clause that the treaty should remain in force only until Korea should attain to national strength.

Though the Emperor declared that he had never given his consent to the signing of the treaty, Japan at once notified Washington of the annexation, and the United States Government recognized the new status immediately by shifting the conduct of her diplomatic affairs with Korea from Seoul to Tokio. It was stated that a number of Koreans expressed their repudiation of this treaty of annexation by committing suicide, and subsequently both Marquis Ito and Mr. Stevens, the Foreign Adviser to the Japanese Government, were assassinated by Koreans in retaliation for the part that they had played.

In the Summer of 1907 the Emperor of Korea, virtually a hostage, secretly sent a delegation to The Hague to petition for aid from the powers. He was then compelled by the Japanese Government to abdicate his throne in favor of his son, who was mentally deficient. From this son and from the then Prime Minister—known to all Koreans as "the man who sold his country"—the Japanese obtained the request on which they based their right to the formal annexation of Korea in 1910.

THE EX-EMPEROR'S DEATH

When the great European war spread broadcast the new faith in the principle

of self-determination for small as well as large nations it created hopes of independence in all classes of the Korean people, and the maturing movement suddenly flared into open revolt after the death of the ex-Emperor, or Prince Yi, Sr., as he was called after the annexation. He died on Jan. 20, 1919, and the official report stated that the cause of death was a ruptured blood vessel in the brain; but many Koreans believed that the ex-Emperor had been assassinated for refusing to sign a statement testifying to the happiness of the Korean people under Japanese rule, while many others believed that he had committed suicide as a protest against the marriage of his son to a Japanese Princess. Whatever the true cause of his death, he thus became, somewhat tardily, a national hero.

The funeral was set for March 3. According to an old Korean custom the body of the murdered Queen had to be disinterred in order to be reburied with that of the King, and this process recalled the manner of the Queen's death to the popular mind, inflaming the spirit of revolt.

Suddenly on March 1, two days before the funeral, at 2:30 in the afternoon, thirty-three leading men, fifteen of whom were members of a politico-religious organization, fifteen of whom were connected with the various Protestant Christian churches, and three of whom were Buddhists, issued a proclamation (printed in July *CURRENT HISTORY*) which declared Korea an independent State; immediately thereafter they gave themselves up to the Japanese authorities. The issuing of this proclamation was followed by a celebration in which thousands joined. It took place simultaneously in most of the important centres of the Korean Peninsula. In Seoul the people seemed wild with joy, and surged in the streets displaying the old Korean flag and shouting "Mansei!" (Korean for "Hurrah!") and other patriotic cries.

The police at once imprisoned the signers and took steps to put down the uprising by arresting the leaders and using armed force to disperse the crowd. The crowd was not violent, but per-

sistent, while the methods of the police became more and more brutal, even in the case of women and girls. Some clashes inevitably occurred, but competent witnesses declared that the Koreans consistently avoided violence. The demonstrations continued through March. The street railway men struck, and many shops closed their doors. Seoul was practically under martial law. Other demonstrations occurred at other prominent places in the peninsula. The Koreans, who before had showed only abject terror of the Japanese police, approached the gendarmes themselves unarmed.

Although Christian converts were among the issuers of the proclamation of independence, the Japanese Director of Internal Affairs declared in a public statement that no missionaries were concerned in the disturbances. This was confirmed by the Japanese Director of Judicial Affairs. Both statements officially contradicted the charges brought by Japanese gendarmes in the interior that the missionaries were implicated. The arrest of Mr. Mowry and his final acquittal were an episode in this phase of the uprising. The majority of signers of the declaration were non-Christians, and students from the Government schools were leaders in the demonstrations that followed. In other parts of the country only non-Christians were involved.

GRIEVANCES OF KOREANS

A statement issued by the Central Committee of the independence movement is summarized below:

Korea's history of organized government extends over 4,300 years, during which period Korea was a free and independent nation. The Koreans are a distinct race from the Japanese, who derive their customs, their literature, and their very clothing from Korea. The barbaric cruelty of the Japanese toward the Koreans makes unification further impossible.

Japan has shown base ingratitude toward Korea, who helped her win the war with Russia; she has broken her solemn promises by abolishing Korean independence and the Korean Government. She has maladministered the laws, making it impossible for a Korean to obtain justice in the courts, and she has encouraged the police, in their

examination of arrested persons, to inflict sufferings beyond description. She has destroyed all liberty, the right of assembling, the freedom of the press. Besides the signers of the declaration, she has arrested several hundred men, as well as schoolboys and schoolgirls, deprived them of food for days at a time, and inflicted on them cruel injuries. The demonstrations and the Manifesto of Independence were not inspired by outside influences, but spring from actual spiritual forces within the Korean Nation. The nation's opportunity to regain its freedom from Japanese oppression has come. All the nations of the earth are appealed to to bring the pitiful conditions of the Korean people to an end.

A petition to the Government sent by the literati, in which the national character of the movement was emphasized, charged that the Japanese, after filling the prisons with Koreans, had whipped, beaten, and tortured many of them to death. Eighty per cent. of the Koreans are farmers; large numbers of them were supporting the movement. All other classes were represented, including the coolies, many of whom were represented among those lying badly injured in the hospitals.

METHODS OF SUPPRESSION

The Koreans were unarmed. The Japanese authorities used weapons from the first. During the demonstrations and for days afterward large numbers of Koreans, irrespective of age or sex, were brutally handled when arrested. Police and gendarmes armed with swords and pistols, firemen armed with fire-hooks, soldiers with rifles and fixed bayonets, Japanese in civilian dress with sticks and clubs, attacked the peaceful demonstrators. Mounted police and cavalry, in wild charges into the crowd, wounded and killed large numbers. Night assaults were frequent. In the examination of prisoners there were many cases of rough and cruel treatment, such as young girls and young women being stripped naked in the presence of male officials and then subjected to obscene and vulgar cross-questioning, and men and girls being beaten and otherwise tortured while under police examination. Photographs received from Korea show mutilation of the bodies of some of the victims of the Japanese police.

The Koreans by nature are quiet, long-suffering, peaceful, even inclined to timidity. Under Japanese rule they have become resentful, rebellious, fearless, ready to sacrifice life, property, everything they possess, to rid themselves of the domination of the Japanese, who in many respects admittedly have been their material benefactors. This resentment has no connection with the wave of Bolshevism that has swept over the civilized world. It is based on the Japanese record of administration in Korea, and against the methods employed by Japan to gain its ends. To the Koreans Japan embodies the principles of violence which the German Nation upheld and which the European war overthrew. The Japan Advertiser on March 18 pointed out that the only remedy for the situation was the arousing of the Japanese public conscience. Absolute frankness in speaking out was necessary. It was not a time for silence, or for soft speeches in praise of accomplishments in afforestation, road-building, or other material interests of the Korean Peninsula. A change of Governmental methods was necessary.

It was stated authoritatively on June 17 that the number of Koreans arrested in connection with the uprisings had reached 13,981. The cases against 4,649 had been dropped, 3,967 had been convicted, 58 had been acquitted, and the rest still awaited trial. Meanwhile many protests against the methods used in Korea continued to come from influential Japanese journals, as well as from foreign countries. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, a missionary body comprising thirty churches, made public a detailed report on July 15 which contained the following passages:

Because fifteen prominent Korean Christians were among the thirty-three signers of the declaration of national independence the Japanese made their suppression of the movement the occasion for a relentless warfare against Christianity in Korea. In certain villages all of the Christian men were summoned to meet in the local churches, where they were fired upon by Japanese troops and the buildings burned to the ground, with all occupants. Native women coming to learn the fate of their husbands were also

massacred. From one hill investigators were able to see nine burned villages, most of whose inhabitants were Christians.

From March 1 to April 11, 361 Koreans were known to have been killed and 880 wounded. The indignities to a few foreign missionaries, and especially the arrest and imprisonment of the Rev. Eli M. Mowry, are already well known in America. The latest reports are to the effect that, while the public demonstrations by Koreans had ceased, the arrest and torture of suspected persons by the police

were continuing, and that a reign of terror prevailed.

Shortly before the middle of July the above-named council received assurances from Premier Hara and Foreign Minister Uchida that definite measures had been taken to reform the methods in Korea. The position of Governor General was to be open to civilians and the military rule was to be modified by semi-civilian administration.

China's White Book on Shantung

Official Story of Japanese Aggression in 1915 as Laid Before the Peace Conference

THE Chinese White Book, embodying China's plea for the restoration of territory and rights in Shantung held by Japan as Germany's successor, was presented to the Peace Conference on April 25. A copy of this important document—which was ignored by the allied powers—was obtained from one of the delegates by Selden P. Spencer, Republican Senator from Missouri, and by him presented to the United States Senate on July 25, as evidence to be used by the Foreign Relations Committee in the coming battle to eliminate from the Peace Treaty the whole Shantung provision. A summary of the content of the White Book is given herewith.

After outlining the methods whereby China was compelled to agree to the proposals in the notes exchanged between Tokio and Peking in 1915, on the strength of which Japan claimed the right of succession to Germany in Kiao-Chau and Shantung, the Chinese Commissioners submitted to the Peace Conference the following agreements against considering the treaties of binding influence on the Peace Conference:

Because these treaties constitute one entire transaction or entity arising out of the war and they attempt to deal with matters whose proper determination is entirely a right and interest of the Peace Conference.

Because they contravene the allied formula of justice and principles now serving

as the guiding rules of the Peace Conference in its task of working out a settlement of the affairs of nations in order to prevent or to minimize the chances of war in the future.

Because, specifically, they violate the territorial integrity and political independence of China, as guaranteed in the series of conventions and agreements severally concluded by Great Britain, France, Russia and the United States with Japan.

Because they were negotiated in circumstances of intimidation and concluded under the duress of the Japanese ultimatum of May 7, 1915.

Because they are lacking in finality, being so regarded by Japan, who sought to make them final by negotiating—before China was suffered to enter the war in association with the Allies and the United States—a set of secret agreements at variance with the principles accepted by the belligerents as the basis of the peace settlement.

The White Book pointed out that by granting the Japanese demands for the former German railway rights in Shantung the Peace Conference would be giving Japan absolute control of North China through the Shantung and Manchurian railways, and that Peking would be isolated from southern and central China. It continues:

They were the fruits of sixteen years of German aggression in the Shantung Province and their transfer to Japan means that the Teutonic methods which enabled Germany to dominate and exploit the province will pass into the hands of a power with the great military

base standing on Chinese soil at Port Arthur.

DEMANDS CALLED INDEFENSIBLE

The document demonstrates that every effort of China to enter the war by the side of the Allies in 1914 was frustrated by the Tokio Government. The German rights, the White Book asserts, could have been captured by China had she been permitted to enter the war. It further asserts that the twenty-one demands constituted an ultimatum as drastic and indefensible as that served by Austria-Hungary on Serbia after the incident at Serajevo.

The following leaves from the White Book bear on the extent to which China was a free agent in acquiescing in the Japanese ultimatum:

On Dec. 3, 1914, the Japanese Minister at Peking, Mr. Hioki, was handed at Tokio the text of the twenty-one demands for presentation to the Chinese Government. They were divided into five groups.

In the first instructions given by Baron Kato (then Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs) to Mr. Hioki—which were officially published at Tokio on June 9, 1915—Mr. Hioki was informed that, "in order to provide for the readjustment of affairs consequent on the Japan-German war, and for the purpose of insuring a lasting peace in the Far East by strengthening the position of the (Japanese) empire, the Imperial Government has resolved to approach the Chinese Government with a view to concluding treaties and agreements mainly along the lines laid down in the first four groups of the proposals, (the twenty-one demands.) Believing it absolutely essential, for strengthening Japan's position in Eastern Asia, as well as for the general interest of the region, to secure China's adherence to the foregoing proposals, the Imperial Government is determined to attain this end by all means within its power. You are therefore requested to use your best endeavor in the conduct of the negotiations, which are hereby placed in your hands."

JAPAN'S AMBITIONS

As regards the proposals contained in the fifth group, Mr. Hioki was informed that they were to be presented as the wishes of the Imperial Government; "but you are also requested to exercise your best efforts to have our wishes carried out."

It is important, however, to state that the proposals in this fifth group were

presented to the Chinese Government as demands and not as wishes.

Attention is directed here to these "first instructions" to Mr. Hioki because, studied in connection with other indications of Japanese policy in China, they point reasonably to the inference that Japan's dominant aim in the war against the Central Powers was the "strengthening of Japan's position in eastern Asia," and the Japanese Government were "determined to attain this end by all means within their power."

This reference to Japan's war aim is made because it appears desirable to place all the facts before the Peace Conference in order that a correct decision may be rendered, inter alia, on the pending claim of the Japanese Government for "the unconditional cession of the leased territory of Kiao-Chau together with the railways and other rights possessed by Germany in respect of Shantung Province."

If the real object for which Japan entered the war was less the destruction of German imperialism than the creation of a situation enabling her to strengthen her own "position in Eastern Asia by all means within her power" it is legitimate for China—as one of the allied and associated States that would suffer in the event of the success of the Japanese claim—to urge the rejection of this claim on the ground that Japan entered the war and envisaged its end in a sense at variance with the principles for which the Entente Allies and America have fought and conquered.

PRESENTATION OF DEMANDS

Six weeks had elapsed from the date of the "first instructions" when it was decided that a suitable opportunity had occurred for the presentation of the twenty-one demands. This took place on Jan. 18, 1915, following swiftly on the communication of a note from the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs in reply to a dispatch from Mr. Hioki. The latter had written to state that the Japanese Government would not recognize the cancellation of the special military zone which the Chinese Government had delimited in connection with the operations of the Japanese forces besieging the small German garrison at Tsing-tao with the leased territory of Kiao-Chau.

This note from the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs is the last of a series of six notes passing between him and Mr. Hioki. These notes dealt not only with the special military zone but with the protest of the Chinese Government against the forcible and unnecessary seizure by the Japanese of the Trans-Shantung Railway, which dominates the Province of Shantung.

The whole of this series of notes is important because they connect the twenty-

one demands with the situation created in Shantung by the Japanese military authorities in their operation for the reduction of the German "fortress" of Tsing-tao. This fortress was garrisoned by 5,250 German and Austrian regulars and reserves hastily assembled. Under the plea of military necessity the Japanese forces entered Chinese territory 150 miles to the rear of the "stronghold." In the land operations ensuing, the Japanese had a total of twelve officers killed and forty wounded, and 324 rank and file killed and 1,148 wounded. In the naval operations, one small cruiser was sunk by a mine and 280 of the crew perished. In addition to this disaster the navy had forty men killed and wounded.

OPERATIONS SMALL

These figures are not given in any way to detract from the merit of Japan's principal military achievement during the war, but only to indicate what operations were actually involved in the fall of the fortress.

The note from the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs points out that "two months have elapsed since the capture of Tsing-tao; the base of German military operations has been destroyed; the troops of Great Britain have already been and those of your country are being gradually withdrawn. This shows clearly that there is no military action in the special area, and that the said area ought to be canceled admits of no doubt. As efforts have always been made to effect an amicable settlement of affairs between your country and ours, it is our earnest hope that your Government will act upon the principle of preserving peace in the Far East and maintaining international confidence and friendship."

Within thirty-six hours of the expression of this earnest hope of the Chinese Government, Mr. Hiroki presented to the President of the Chinese Republic a series of demands which the Government and people of China viewed as an act of the same order of policy as the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia that had plunged Europe into war just twenty-four weeks before.

Group 2 of the twenty-one demands included the preferential rights, interests and privileges in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. The White Book said that these Japanese demands would increase the difficulties "which seriously hamper effective Chinese administration in these two areas."

ECONOMIC DEMANDS

Group 3 of the demands embraced the

economic demands. The Chinese White Book continues:

That the economic policy expressed in the Han Yeh Pin undertaking in the Yangtze Valley means Japanese control of China's natural resources is made clear by two recent Japanese statements. In a pamphlet lately issued in Paris by Baron Makino, then acting senior member of the Japanese peace delegation, the declaration is made that "China has the raw material, we have need for raw material, and we have the capital to invest with China in its development for use by ourselves as well as by China."

China does not admit that her natural resources are necessary to assure the economic existence of Japan any more than the natural resources of Alsace-Lorraine were necessary to assure the economic existence of Germany.

JAPANESE ADVISERS

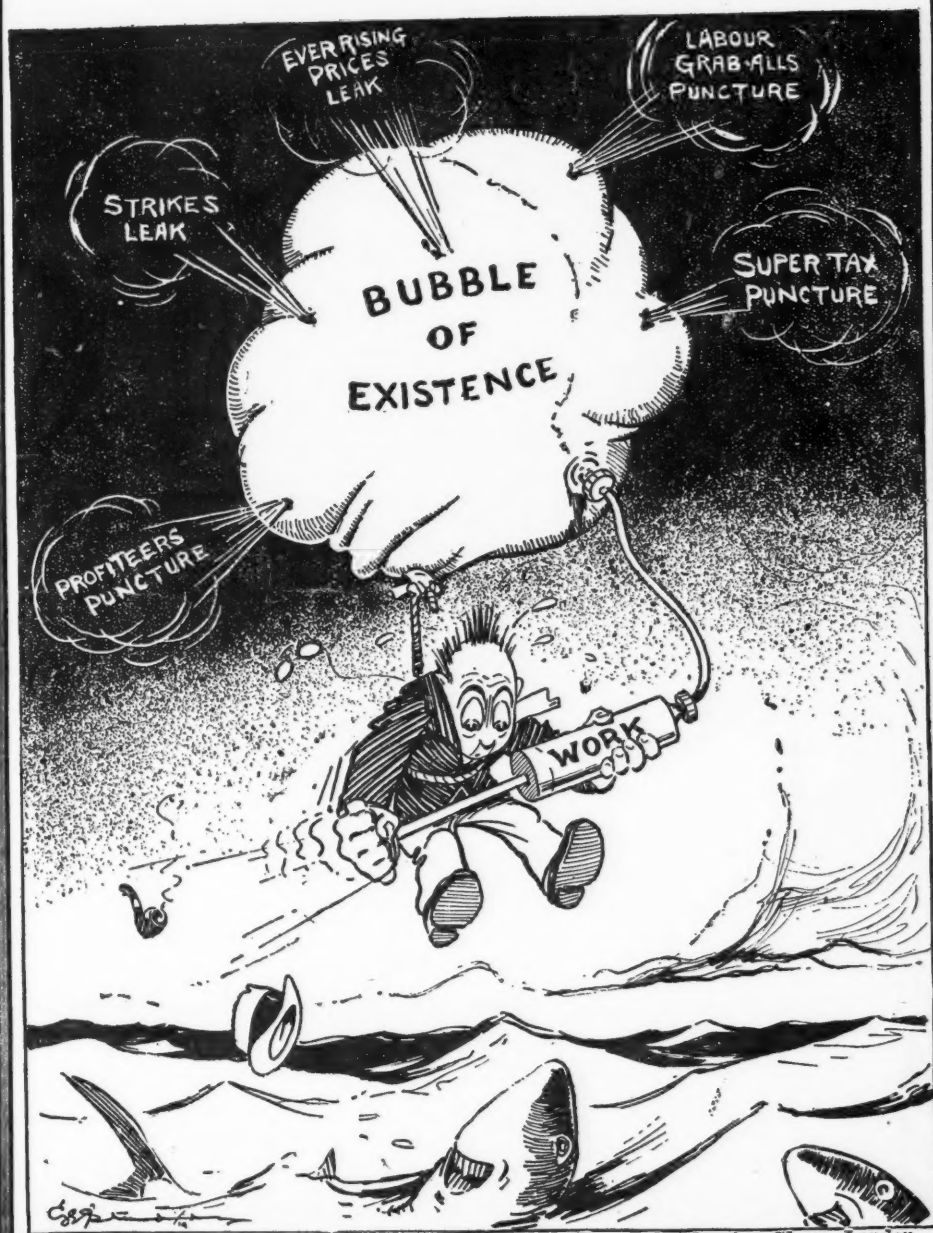
Group 4 included one demand, that the Chinese Government engage not to cede or lease to any other power any harbor or any island along the coast of China. The Chinese Government insisted that Japan also be included in the engagement. Group 5 of the twenty-one demands, the Chinese White Book says, were not admitted by Japan to exist when public attention was first drawn to them, and they were not included in the Japanese communication replying to an inquiry of the great powers regarding the nature and the terms of the twenty-one demands. The document continues:

By this group of demands, influential Japanese were to be engaged by the Chinese Government as advisers in political, financial, and military affairs. The Police Departments of important places (in China) were to be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese, or the Police Departments of these places were to employ numerous Japanese. China was "to purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war, say 50 per cent. or more of what is needed by the Chinese Government, or there shall be established in China a Sino-Japanese jointly worked arsenal. Japanese technical experts are to be employed and Japanese material to be purchased." In other words, the Chinese Army—with its illimitable possibilities in man power—was to be organized and controlled by influential Japanese military advisers, and was to be equipped and supplied with arms and munitions of Japanese pattern and manufacture.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[English Cartoon]

John Citizen's Daily Nightmare



-From The Passing Show, London

[German Cartoon]

The Three Fates at Versailles

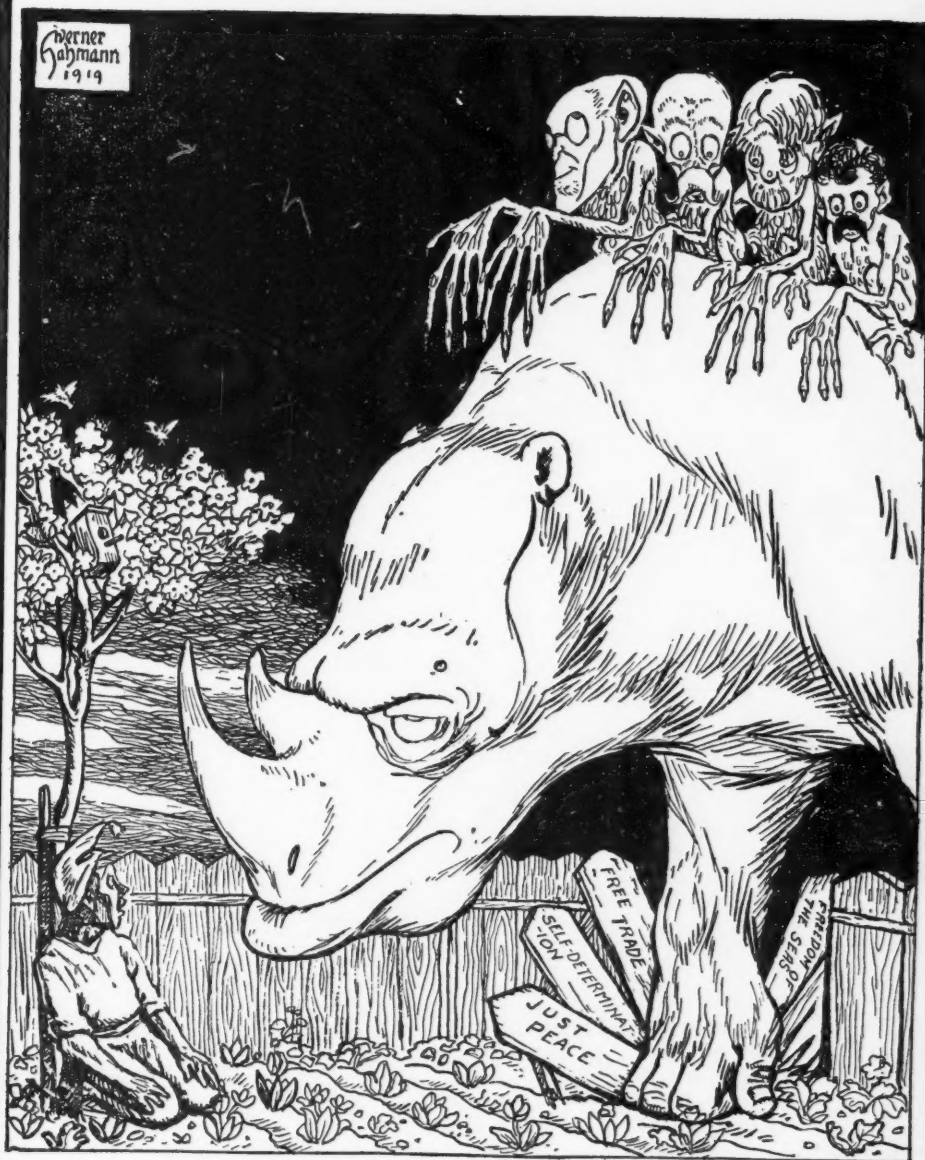


—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin

“Who can save us from the fatal three, who spin not threads, but chains!”

[German Cartoon]

Belated Wisdom

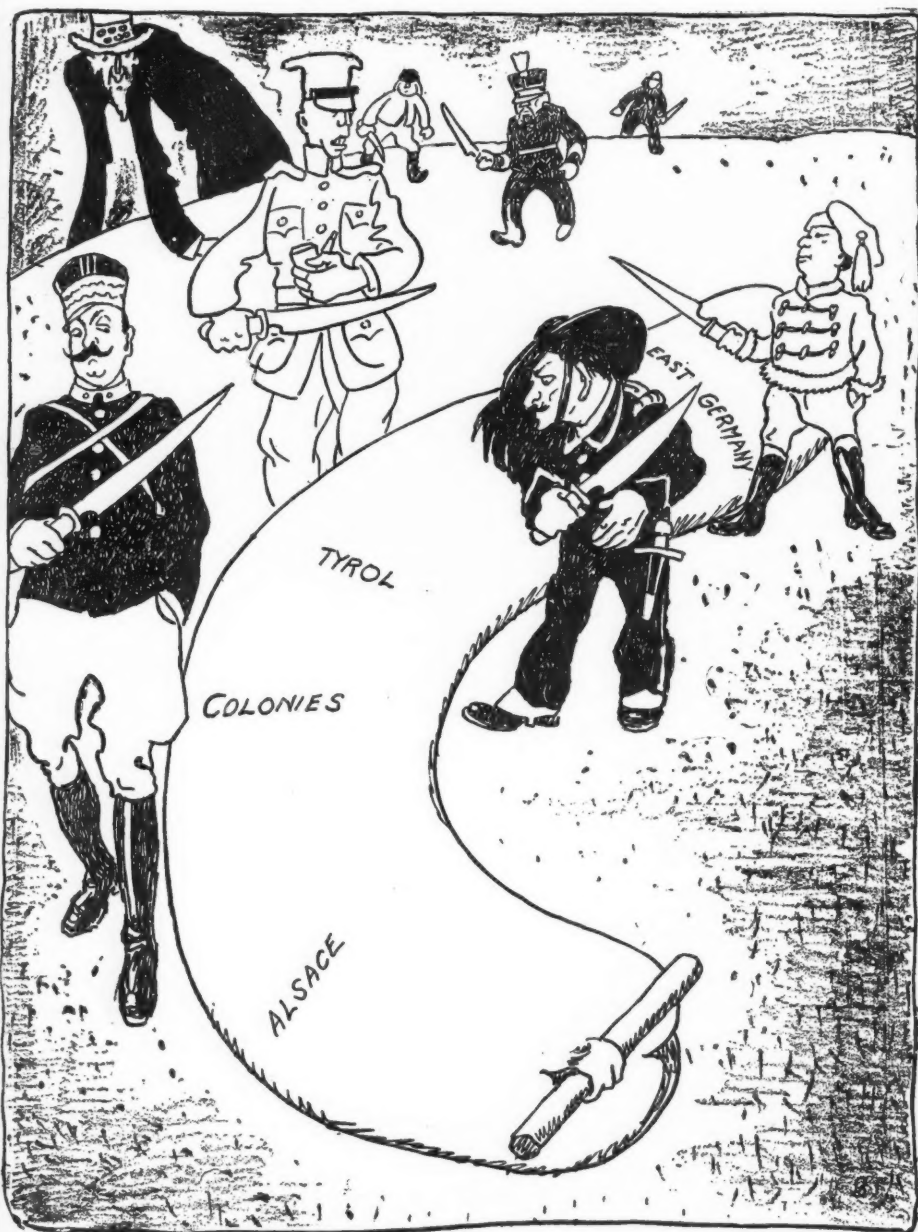


—From Kladderadatsch, Berlin

GERMAN PEASANT: "Ah! If only I had kept my beautiful iron wall instead of this shaky wooden fence!"

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Peace Is Concluded



—From Nebelspalter, Zürich

The consumption of the sausage can now commence

[Australian Cartoon]

"Peace, Perfect Peace"



—From The Sydney Bulletin

While they sing they forget to look behind them

[American Cartoons]

The Critics



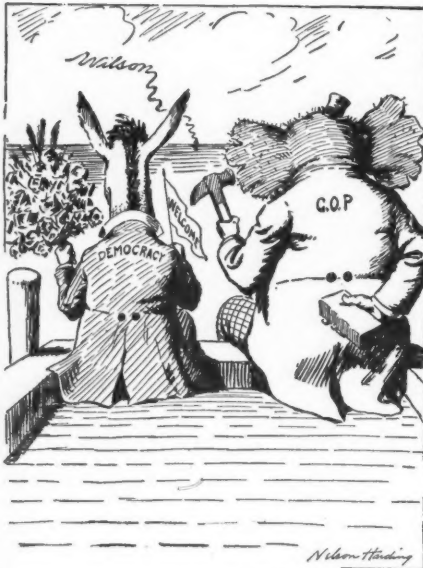
—Dallas News

“At Last I’ve Gotcha!”



—Omaha World-Herald

President Wilson’s Home-coming



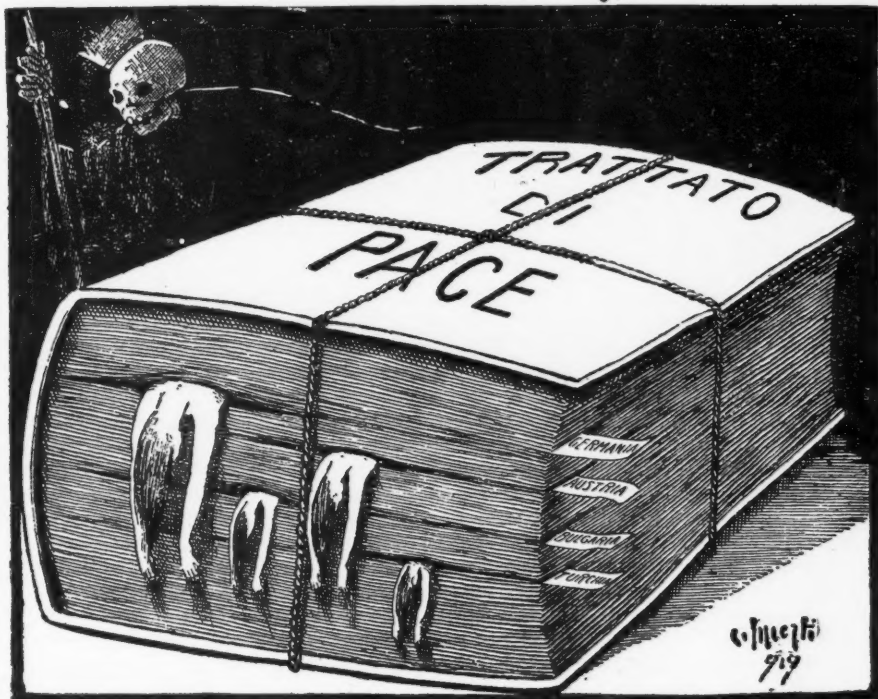
—Brooklyn Eagle

The Chauffeur’s Revenge



—New York Tribune
Moral: Always speak kindly to the driver if you’ve got to ride behind him

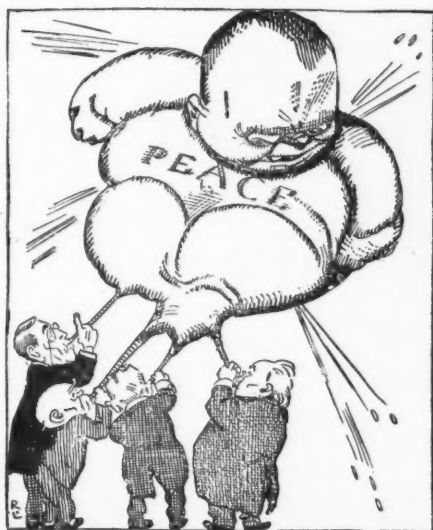
[Italian Cartoon]
The Peace Treaty



—From Il 420, Florence

The last volume of a great tragedy

[Italian Cartoon]
Versailles!



—L'Asino, Rome

[German-Swiss Cartoon]
The New Member

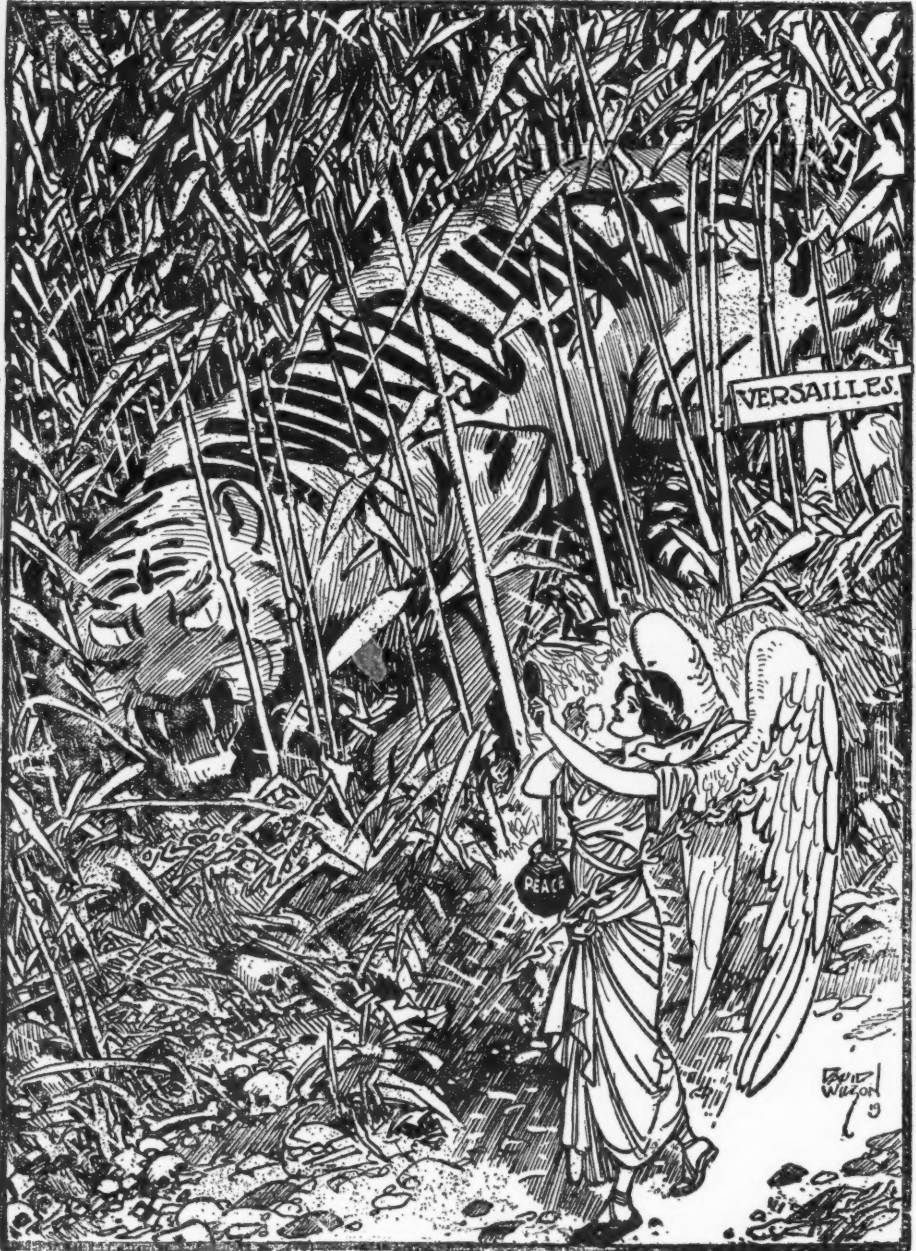


—Nebelspalter, Zurich

BOLSHEVISM: "I beg that my request be heard. Let me be in your band the third."

[English Cartoon]

Beauty and the Beast



—From The World, London

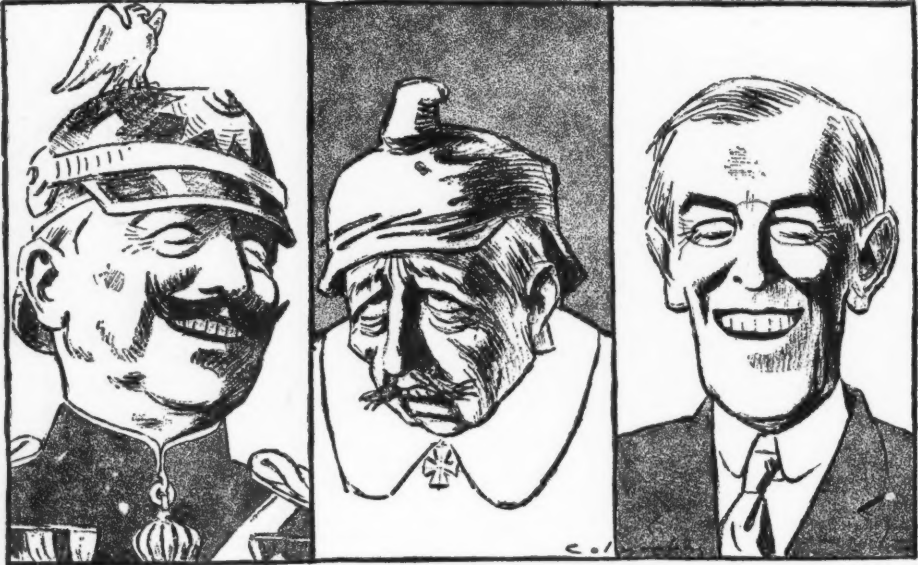
[Dutch Cartoon]
Germany and the Peace Treaty



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam
Poison or Tonic?

[Argentine Cartoon]

He Laughs Best Who Laughs Last



1914

1918

1919

—By Señor Columba, Buenos Aires

[English Cartoon]

On the Brain



—London Opinion

[Italian Cartoon]

Peace in Search of Herself



—L'Astino, Rome

[German Cartoon]
The Poison Brew



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin
"No, this soup I will not eat!" [But he did]

[German Cartoon]
The Palm of Peace
[à la Versailles]



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin
Decorative design for wall painting in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles

[English Cartoon]
After the Operation



—World, London
PAX: "How thankful I am to be out of the doctors' hands!"

[American Cartoon]
Uncle Sam and Shantung



—Portland Oregonian
"Sorry, China, but we've got too many other things to think about"

[English Cartoon]

Cold Feet



—The Passing Show, London

[American Cartoon]

Taking His "Place in the Sun" Again



—Central Press Association

[Australian Cartoon]

Peace in Europe



—From the Sydney Bulletin

PEACE: "What fool called me here?"

[American Cartoons]

The Modern Barbara Frietchie



—Rocky Mountain News

"Who touches a curl of yon blonde head dies like a dog! March on!" he said

"Kaiser Bill Didn't Have the Right System"



—Dayton News

A Sudden Change of Heart



—Dayton News

The gang always gets a laugh when the fat bully dives "belly buster"

The New Rake



—Dayton News

[American Cartoons]

One at a Time, Please,
Gentlemen



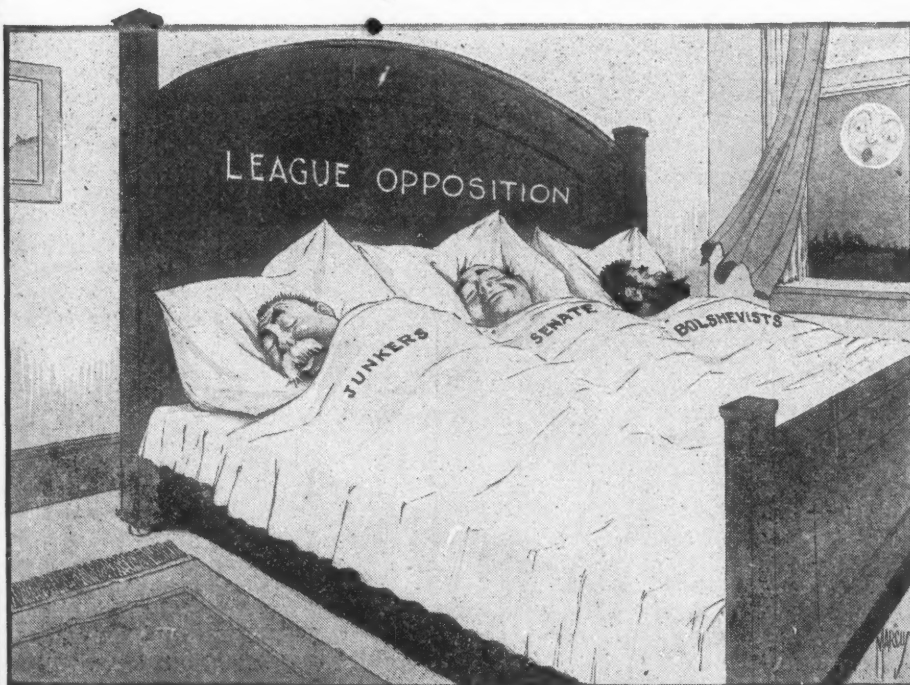
—New York Tribune

Look Who's Here—and Been
Here All the Time



—New York Herald

Strange Bedfellows



—From The New York Times

[American Cartoons]

Now That Peace Is Signed



—Central Press Association

The Big, Juicy Squeeze



—Memphis Commercial Appeal

[Italian Cartoon]

Bolshevism

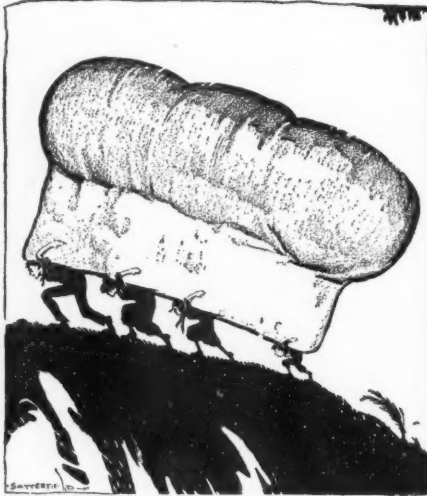


—From Il 420, Florence

"Abandon hope, all ye who enter"

[American Cartoons]

Our Daily Bread



—Newspaper Enterprise Ass'n, Cleveland

The Dregs



—Cincinnati Post

A Sign of the Times



—From The New York Times

[Italian Cartoons]

Italy's Resentment Against President Wilson



ITALIAN VICTORY: "They have prepared a grave for me!"

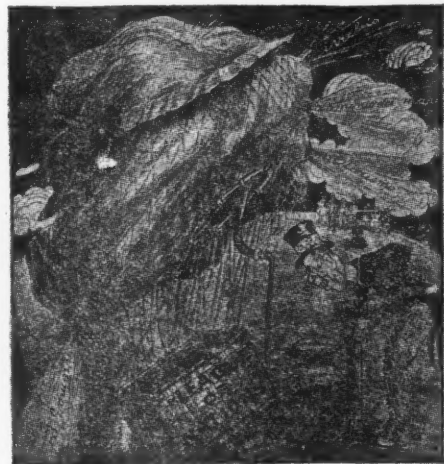
ITALIAN SOLDIER: "But they forget that I am at your side!"



No! A peace which leaves such footprints behind it is not the peace for which 500,000 Italians died



He came dressed as a savior and returns dressed as Harlequin



"Yes, Mr. Wilson, you will need to pump hard to make up for the punctures which you made yourself"

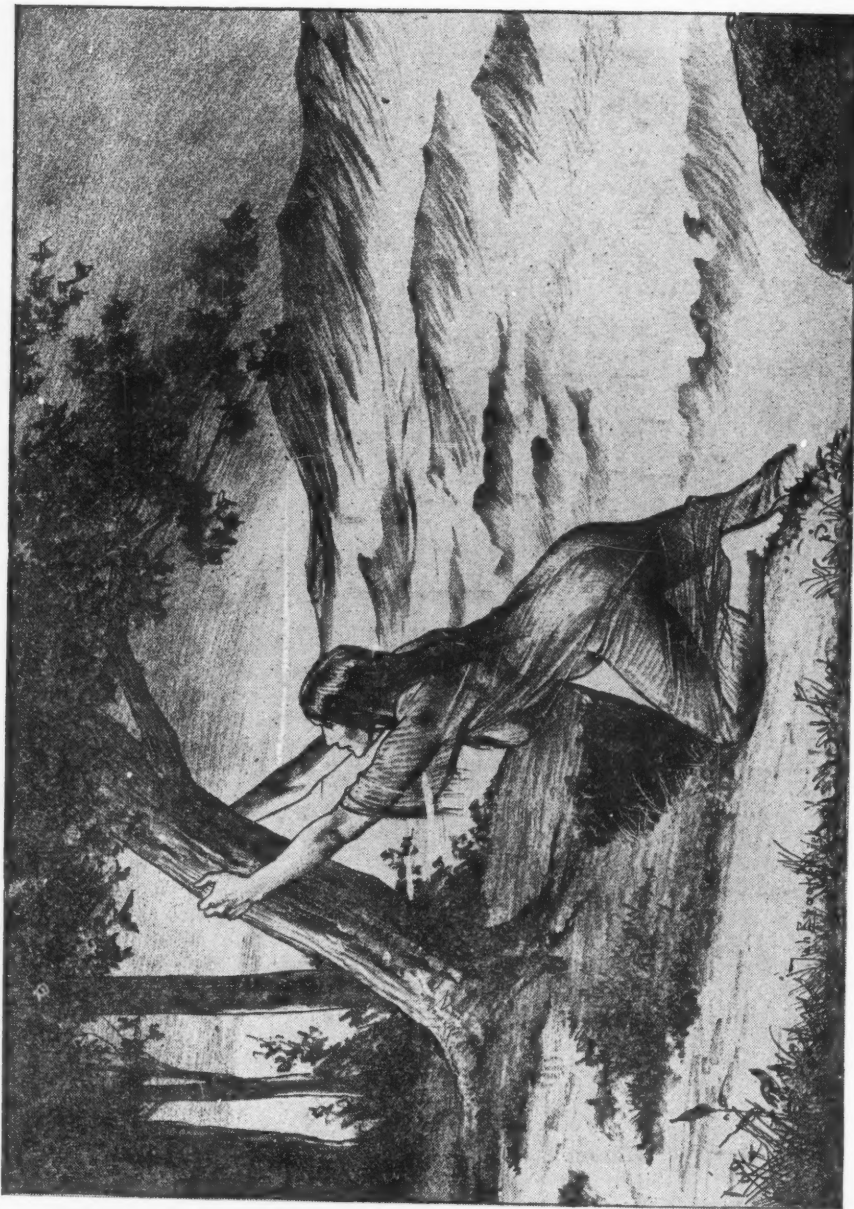
—11 420, Florence

[Dutch Cartoon]

Peace at Last!

Humanity reaches
land and is saved
after deadly peril.

—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam



The Clark School *for Concentration*

FOR BOYS
FOR GIRLS

BOARDING
AND DAY
PUPILS

*Failures in School Can Almost Always Be
Traced to One of the Following Types of Minds:*

1. The Grasshopper mind—the mind that nibbles at everything and masters nothing.
2. The Colorless mind—the mind that is unable to picture or use words. It is the most pathetic of all types, because it is almost wordless.
3. The I-Don't-Care mind—the mind that has become hardened by discouragement.
4. The Timid mind—the mind that lacks self-assertion.
5. The Hazy mind—the mind that is never certain of anything.
6. The Pre-occupied mind—the mind that is never at home.
7. The Frivolous mind—the mind that regards all work as useless.

IF a boy comes under the first of these heads, he mirrors a teacher who works without methods, without purpose, without plan.

If a pupil fits in the second division he reflects a teacher who is always annexed to a book—a teacher who is lost unless he can read a text. Such a teacher hasn't any business in a school-room.

If the student can be placed under the third variety he reflects a type teacher who drives more boys from school than any other—a teacher who is forever dashing cold water on budding hopes and desires. Such a teacher is as out of place in a school-room as an iceberg is in a flower garden.

If the learner passes under number four he reflects the misfit teacher—a teacher who has chosen the wrong profession.

If a lad belongs in the fifth class he reflects a teacher with a misty mind—a teacher who acts as if he had a blister on the brain.

If the candidate for college falls into the sixth division he reflects a teacher who always arrives at a railway station after his train has departed. Such a teacher is never able to cover a course in school.

If the boy feels at home in the seventh class he reflects a teacher who hates work, who lacks the power of application, and who is generally a slave to pleasure. Such a teacher is a nuisance in a school-room.

The foregoing types of mind have been carefully studied and as a consequence very gratifying results have been obtained. The students of the Clark School reflect their teachers through the records they make.

New Fall Term Commences Monday, Sept. 22d.

Write for Illustrated Book Containing Full Information.

**Main Office and Girls' School, 301 West 72d St., cor. West End Ave.
Boys' School, 270 West 72d St., cor. West End Ave.**

NEW YORK

Telephone Columbus 744



"A literary and diplomatic event." — *The Atlantic Monthly*.



The greatest book the war has produced!

BELGIUM

By BRAND WHITLOCK

United States Minister to Belgium

A GREAT DIPLOMAT
A DISTINGUISHED AUTHOR

who has written by far the most important book of the Twentieth Century—the tragic story of the Rape of Belgium.

"Belgium" is the complete story of the heart of the war, by the man whose testimony is final—the only American whom the Germans permitted to leave Belgium with the diaries he had kept during the invasion. The whole terrible story is there—The complete True Story of Edith Cavell, How Whitlock Saved Brussels, The Sack of Louvain, von der Lancken's cruelties, The Belgium Deportations, The Astounding Affiches, Burgomaster Max, Cardinal Mercier, The King and His People.

AN extraordinary combination of events and the man happened to produce this work.

In the opinion of many eminent men who read it in manuscript, it is the most valuable literary work which has grown out of the war, and the greatest contribution to letters published by the Appletons since they brought out the works of Darwin, Huxley and Spencer. Next to their King, Brand Whitlock is most beloved of the Belgians. Day by day he stood between the invaders and their victims; night by night he recorded in his diary every detail of the brutal story. With his very soul seared by the tragedy, he has given the world a book that will live forever.

THE NEW YORK TIMES SAYS--

"In the course of a twelvemonth or so there usually appear a number of novels that are more or less enjoyable, and a few that are decidedly admirable, but only very occasionally does one come across a book for which one feels inclined to give devout and humble thanks. Such a book as this is J. C. Snaith's new novel—'The Undeclared'."

THE UNDEFEATED-by J. C. SNAITH
Author of "The Sailor"

This remarkable endorsement by The Times is only one of dozens of such reviews this book has received. It has become known as "the book that is reprinted every week."

20th edition on press, \$1.60 net.



D. Appleton
& Company

THESE ARE APPLETON BOOKS

Publishers
New York

VIGILANT cameras the world over are catching scenes and making pictures that will live forever. Nations are being born; war secrets are coming to light; history is being made daily.

Every week **THE MID-WEEK PICTORIAL** presents a fascinating and valuable picture record of the world's events.

*Printed in Rotogravure
10c a copy at news stands
\$5 a year by mail*

Mid-Week Pictorial

Published by The New York Times Company
Times Square, New York

USE THIS COUPON

MID-WEEK PICTORIAL, Times Square, New York

Inclosed find \$5 for a year's subscription to MID-WEEK PICTORIAL.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

The Living Documents of the World War

There has never been a history like it, and there may be never again.

THESE WAR VOLUMES of The New York Times breathe the breath of life into the records of the Great War.

They are books that throb with life. Through their pages move the armies and navies of the world. The world's greatest poets and dreamers never conceived such fascinating and absorbing scenes as here pass in review before the reader's mental vision. Here fancy is surpassed by fact and pure literature swept aside by realism.

Page after page reverberates with the thunder of vast conflicting forces. Everything is told with an accuracy that is photographic, because these War Volumes were written in the very atmosphere of the world struggle by the men who directed the war—statesmen, Generals and publicists.

Remember, the War Volumes give the official facts of the

war—history that you have watched and perhaps aided in the making. It is pure, unadulterated history without coloring or comment, and without prophecy or preaching—only the **FACTS**—and all the facts.

Surely all American men and women, for their own sake and for the sake of their children and their children's children, should own these unique and unequaled volumes, for no human mind can grasp unaided the full significance of the stupendous changes produced by the Great War in international politics, economics, commerce and all things that affect the lives of mankind.

Remember, this history contains the most important reports, annals and incidents relating to all phases of the war from the beginning to the end. Profusely illustrated.

Get the Booklet fully describing the War Volumes. Use coupon below

WAR VOLUMES of The New York Times

Cut Out and Mail This Coupon Today!

WAR VOLUMES DEPARTMENT,
The New York Times, Times Square, N. Y.

Kindly send booklet fully describing the War Volumes.

Name _____

Address _____

Training for Authorship



How to write, what to write,
and where to sell.

Cultivate your mind. Develop
your literary gifts. Master the
art of self-expression. Make
your spare time profitable.
Turn your ideas into dollars.

Courses in Short-Story Writing,
Versification, Journalism,
Play Writing, Photoplay
Writing, etc., taught personally

by Dr. J. Berg Esenwein,
for many years editor of Lippincott's Magazine, and
a staff of literary experts. Constructive criticism.
Frank, honest, helpful advice. *Real teaching.*

One pupil has received over \$5,000 for stories and articles
written mostly in spare time—"play work," he calls it.
Another pupil received over \$1,000 before completing
her first course. Another, a busy wife and mother, is
averaging over \$75 a week from photoplay writing alone.

There is no other institution or agency doing so much for
writers, young or old. The universities recognize this, for over
one hundred members of the English faculties of higher institutions
are studying in our Literary Department. The editors
recognize it, for they are constantly recommending our courses.

We publish *The Writer's Library*. We also publish *The Writer's Monthly*,
especially valuable for its full reports of the literary market. Besides our teaching
service, we offer a manuscript criticism service.

150-page illustrated catalogue free.

Please address—

The Home Correspondence School

Dept. 45, Springfield, Mass.

ESTABLISHED 1897

INCORPORATED 1904



SARGENT'S HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN PRIVATE SCHOOLS A Guide Book for Parents

A STANDARD ANNUAL OF REFERENCE. Describes critically
and discriminately the Private Schools of all
classifications.

COMPARATIVE TABLES give the relative cost, size,
age, special features, etc.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS review interesting develop-
ments of the year in education.—Modern Schools, War
Changes in the Schools, Educational Reconstruction, What
Progressive Schools Are Doing, Recent Educational Lit-
erature, etc.

OUR EDUCATIONAL SERVICE BUREAU will be glad to
advise and write you intimately about any school or
class of schools in which you are interested.

Fifth edition, 1919, revised and enlarged, 768 pages,
\$3.00. Circulars and sample pages on request.

PORTER E. SARGENT, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.



A nation-wide organization
owned by more than 30,000
shareholders

Swift & Company, U. S. A.

War Volumes Encyclopedia Set

The New York Times Co. has published a
history of the war in 20 volumes; 19 are
now ready for delivery. It combines nar-
rative history, official history, and the rich-
est war literature. For particulars address,
New York Times War Volumes, Times
Square, New York City.

Sleep

in luxury after a hard
day's sport

ON

Excelsior Quilted Protectors

They add value to your mattress
and increase its comfort.

They soften the hard spots, lay
flat and do not wrinkle.

They are as fluffy and
springy after washing.

They are made in a modern
factory from dainty snow
white cotton encased and
quilted in bleached muslin.

Sold in all good Department
and Furnishing Stores



This Label Protects You

EXCELSIOR QUILTING
COMPANY

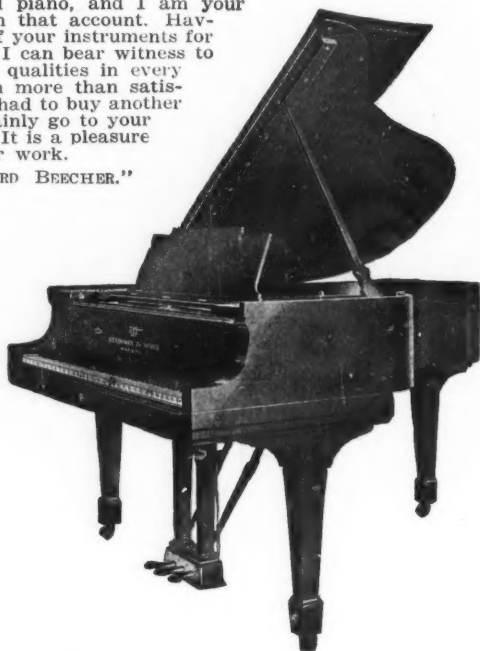
15 Laight Street, New York

"BROOKLYN, January, 26, 1861.

"MESSRS. STEINWAY:

"I regard him as a benefactor who builds a good piano, and I am your beneficiary on that account. Having had one of your instruments for several years I can bear witness to its admirable qualities in every respect. I am more than satisfied, and if I had to buy another I should certainly go to your rooms again. It is a pleasure to praise your work.

"HENRY WARD BEECHER."



The Fame of the

STEINWAY

—the piano by which all others are measured and judged—is not merely a local or national one. It is international, universal, world-wide, and is the recognition, in the strongest possible manner, of a work of art that is in its line unequalled and unrivalled.

From its inception the STEINWAY PIANO has been known as THE BEST PIANO, without qualification and without limitation.

INSPECTION INVITED
SOLD ON CONVENIENT PAYMENTS

CATALOGUE AND PRICES ON APPLICATION
OLD PIANOS TAKEN IN EXCHANGE

Sold by the Foremost Dealers Everywhere

STEINWAY & SONS

STEINWAY HALL

107-109 EAST 14th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Subway Express Stations at the Door



11